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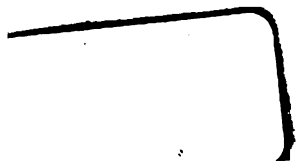
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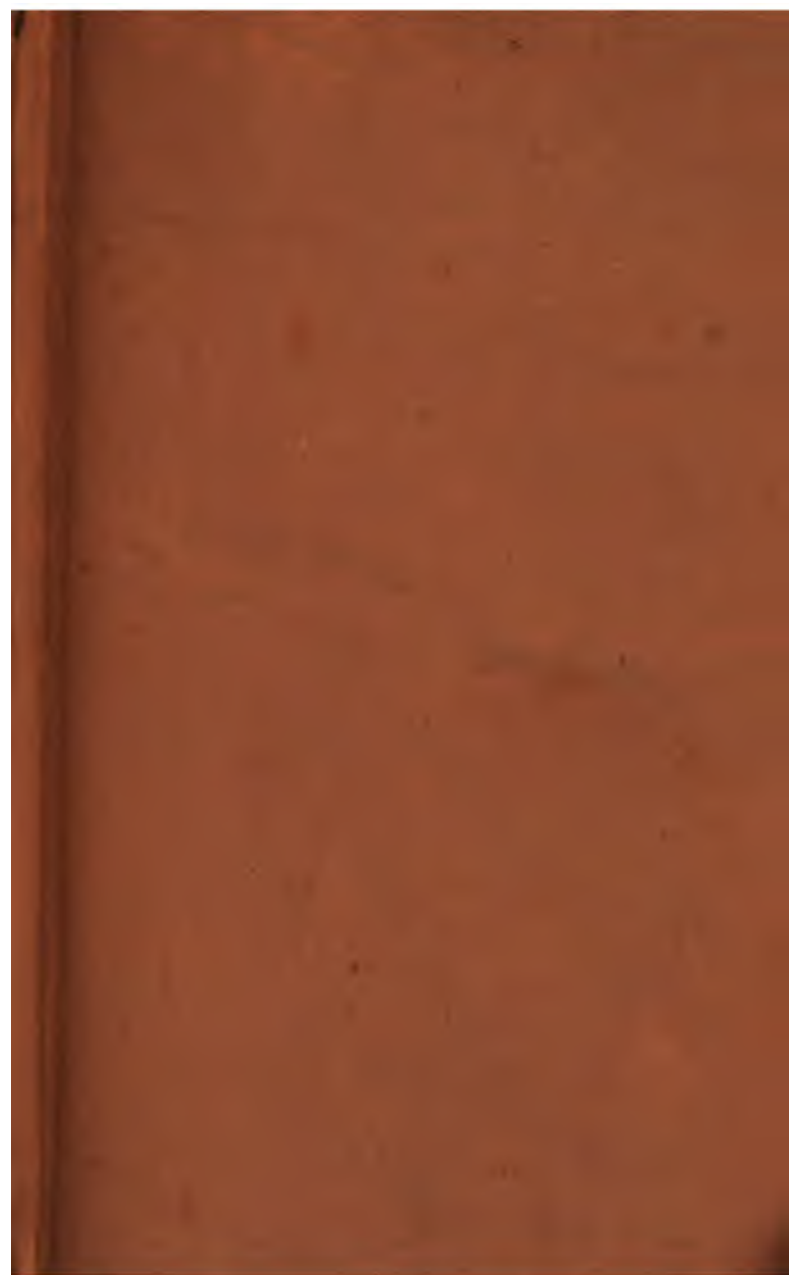
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HISTORY OF ROME,

FROM ITS

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF VESPASIAN.

BY

W. C. MAC DERMOTT, ESQ.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.



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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Work is designed for the use of the more advanced Classes in Schools, and for such Teachers as have not had opportunity to examine the researches of modern writers on Roman History. In the following pages will be found some few instances in which the present Writer has dissented from the opinions of one or two distinguished scholars; yet he is happy to acknowledge the advantages he has derived from their original and enlightened investigations. It is to be understood, that wherever the terms Religion, Religious Rites, Auguries of the Gods, &c., appear in this Work, that they apply exclusively to the fabulous and pagan religion of the ancient Romans.

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HISTORY OF ROME.

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Italy, its Ancient Names—its Geography.—Latium Novum.—Campania.—Lucania—its Early Inhabitants.—The Etruscans—their Knowledge of the Arts—their Government—their Religion, Mythology, and Astronomy—their Eight Secular Days—their Divinations—their Manners and Customs—their Literature.—The Umbri.—The Sabines.—The Marsi—their Language and Religion.

BEFORE entering on the History of the Ancient Romans, who for so many years exercised sovereign sway, not only over the peninsula of Italy, but even the remotest portions of the then known world, it is necessary to consider, as well the foundation upon which that mighty edifice of human power and enterprise was erected, as the materials with which its constructors were supplied, and the difficulties they had to overcome.

The social happiness of a nation must not be measured by the scale of such gigantic public works as it may have achieved, perhaps through the caprice of a tyrant, or by the compulsory labour of an oppressed and degraded people, such as the Israelites under the Pharaohs of old; neither can we judge of the happiness of a nation by the extent of its conquests or foreign dependencies, while its revenues may have been consumed by unprincipled governors, or swept into the coffers of avaricious and licentious magistrates. That state is, unquestionably, the most civilized where the rights of person and property are best protected, and free opportunities given to the enterprise and honourable ambition of all. In these characteristics it will be seen that the constitution of Rome was signally deficient; and hence may be attributed, in proportion to its great-

ness and power, its premature fall. a remark, perhaps, equally applicable to all the great dynasties of antiquity, because not founded on the principles of justice, reason, and humanity.

Rome was at all times both unjust to the Italian States, and cruel to her foreign dependencies. In her early history, we find her a warlike, barbarous, community; contending with tribes whose annals were, perhaps, even as well deserving of perusal as her own, and whose public records we might still possess, had the fortune of war proved propitious to their arms. In such conflicts victory was but another name for extermination;—or, the vanquished were exposed to the hardly less cruel infliction of being deprived of all means of sustenance by the confiscation of their lands. Military colonies were drafted to their cities; their national archives committed to the flames; their nobility and gentry sold as slaves, or transplanted to some other district, or, still worse, condemned to till the soil, once their own, as the degraded serfs of new and imperious masters. Roman laws were introduced, but brought not with them Roman rights or privileges; while the highest prerogative which a subordinate Italian State enjoyed as a reward for services rendered to the dominant republic, was to be merely placed on a level with the poorest and most despicable class amongst the citizens of Rome.

Beneath this withering influence, the old nationalities of Italy rapidly expired; their laws, their literature, their language, are alike a mystery. While the cuneiform or wedge-shaped letters of ancient Persia, and the venerable symbols of the Nile, have yielded to human learning and perseverance; the inscriptions of Etruria and Umbria, the records of the Sabines and Oscans, although written in *characters* intelligible to any ordinary scholar, have as yet defied the skill and patience of the decyphers.* The history of these interesting tribes can

* The best efforts of Grotefend, Müller, and Lepsius, upon this subject, can be considered nothing more than ingenious conjectures.

be gathered only from detached notices in the ancient compilers of Roman annals, often obscure and contradictory, or else from the learned researches of philologists, whose conjectures frequently rest upon very insufficient grounds. The affinities of language in structure and inflections afford powerful evidence of international changes; more especially when these are supported by historical testimonies otherwise unimportant in themselves. It is to the latter we are now principally indebted for whatever information we possess on such interesting subjects, and of which we ought to have some correct ideas, before we can thoroughly understand the history of this memorable nation.

ANCIENT ITALY.

That land, which has been known through many ages by the various names of Hesperia, Ausonia, and Italia, is a great peninsula of Europe, stretching from the Gulf of Venice to the north-western coast of Sicily, a distance of nearly seven hundred and fifty miles. Italia, the last of the above-mentioned titles, is the one most generally bestowed on it in ancient as well as in modern times. The term Hesperia was early applied to it by the Greeks, as lying in a western direction, as applied to their own shores; while the names, Ausonia, Cœnotria, Japygia, more properly belonged to the districts inhabited by particular tribes.

The soil of Italy is remarkably fertile: its genial climate fosters the richest gifts of the vegetable kingdom; the vine and olive flourish in great luxuriance, while its plenteous cereal harvests, for the support of its inhabitants, render it almost independent of the enterprise of commerce. The general character of the country is that of a well-wooded plain, broken by winding valleys, and watered by fertilizing rivers. The Apennines, an immense chain of mountains issuing from the western Alps, and running north and south, divide this peninsula into two nearly equal parts,

throwing out great branches from side to side, and forming the source of almost all those streams by which the country is enriched. The western coast is indented with many small bays and harbours well fitted for the reception of large vessels; its maritime trade, however, never seems to have been important. In former times the climate of Italy was much colder than at present: frost and ice are constantly mentioned by the Roman writers. Mount Soracté is described by the poet Horace as covered with snow—a spectacle never seen in modern times.

GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT ITALY.

That district which, at a later period, was called Latium, from whence the language of Rome received its name, included a mixed Sabellian and Oscan population. This tract extended primitively from the mouth of the Tiber to Cape Circeii, (Terracina,) of necromantic celebrity; where Circe, the daughter of the Sun, is said to have plied her destructive arts upon the unhappy wayfarer, whose untoward fortunes had led him to her shores. A considerable portion of the coast consists of a sandbank covered with firs. Going southwards along the coast, we meet with Lavinium; the river Numicus; an extensive forest; behind which lies Ardea, the capital of Rutuli; the promontory of Antium, and Cape Circeii, behind which lie the city of that name, and the Pontine Marches. The soil of the inner portion of Latium is superior to the coast; in the interior we meet with the important towns of Velitræ, (Velletri,) and Satricum, Suessa, Pometia, and Corioli.

From Cape Circeii to the river Liris, was included a district called Latium Novum, or New Latium; on its shores we meet the grove of Feronia; the city of Terracina, or Anxur; Amyclæ, supposed to be a colony from the Laconian town of that name; the lake Fundanus, (Fondi,) and the Cæcuban and Formian mountain districts, celebrated for their wines. On the Liris was built the city of Minturnæ, and close by are those

marshes in which Marius took refuge from the pursuit of Sylla.

From Minturnæ to the Gulf of Pæstum, lay the fertile region of Campania, in which we meet with the territory of the Falernians, memorable for their wine. Along the coast, the cities of Capua, Naples, formerly Parthenope, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ. In the interior, Nola, famous for the first check which the invincible Hannibal received; and likewise memorable as being the place of the birth and death of Augustus, the first emperor of Rome. In this district also lies Mount Vesuvius, celebrated by Virgil for the fertility of its soil, and still more memorable for the destruction it showered upon the unfortunate cities in its neighbourhood.

From Pæstum to Picenum, and the country of the Abruzzi, included the district of Lucania, remarkable for the excellence of its grapes. One of the most distinguished towns of this region was Pæstum, or, Posidonia, so called, because it was supposed to have been under the protection of Poseidon or Neptune, in whose honour a magnificent temple was erected, the ruins of which, even in the present day, inspire the beholder with awe and wonder. It was a ruin so far back as the days of Augustus, who visited that noble pile with admiration. The climate here was so genial that the surrounding country was said to produce roses twice within the year.

Southwards, the continent extends to its furthest extremity in the peninsula of Bruttium and the straits of Messina; from whence it makes a detour to the north, in the bay of Tarentum; then, throwing out the Calabrian peninsula, it proceeds steadily in a northern direction to the waters of the Adriatic. Along this great line of coast there are but few remarkable localities save the promontory of Palinurus; Rhegium, an ancient Greek colony; Sybaris; Tarentum, and Brundisium,—the latter the principal seaport for passengers from Italy to Greece. Still proceeding towards the north, we meet with Cannæ, where the Romans suffered

a terrible defeat by the Carthaginians ; Mount Garganus, Ancona, in the district of Picenum and Ariminum, in the neighbourhood of which was the Rubicon. The central portions of Italy contained many noble lakes, among which may be included the lake Fucinus and the Lacus Thrasymenus, memorable for a great defeat of the Romans by Hannibal and his Carthaginian forces. The lakes Benacus, and the Lucrine, supplied the tables of the luxurious Romans with fish, of which they were particularly fond.

EARLY INHABITANTS OF ITALY.

Amongst the earliest inhabitants of Italy, the most numerous seem to have been the Pelasgians, a wandering and peculiar race, who appear to have entered the country from the north-western parts of Greece, which they had colonized at a very remote period : the date of this invasion cannot now be ascertained ; it is clear, however, that they were not the aborigines of Italy. In Greece they held unlimited sway until about eleven centuries before Christ, when they laid the foundation of the celebrated language of that country. Various immigrations of Dorian and Ionian tribes from the western coasts of Asia Minor also entered Greece, and occasioned sanguinary wars, in the course of which the Pelasgians were exterminated ; the monarchies which they founded were abolished, and gave way to republican institutions ; nevertheless, the unconquered remains of their power and genius may still be traced in the gigantic walls of the Acropolis of Athens, and the mighty ruins of Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Orchomenos.

The fate of the Pelasgians in Italy was far different. Although they seem to have been conquered at an early date, by the Sabello-Oscans, or Opicans* (a hardy race of mountaineers, inhabiting the district between Reate and Mount Vultur, and who boasted to have sprung from the earth, as their name implies), they neverthe-

* So called from the *ancient* word Ops, signifying the Earth.

less continued to occupy the territory of Umbria, to the east of the Apennines, while they formed a large element in the population of Etruria to the west. They were principally skilled in the arts of building and agriculture, and eminent for the ingenuity with which they drained and irrigated their lands. In the Latin language, very nearly all the terms of war and the chase are of Oscan origin, while those which refer to tillage and the arts of peace are invariably derived from Greek or Pelasgian roots.

ETRURIA.

Etruria, the greatest of the old Italian states, included a large portion of Italy, lying to the north of Latium; bounded on the east and west respectively by the Apennines and the Tyrrhene sea. Its inhabitants were known by the various names of Tuscans, Etruscans, Tyrrhenians, Tyrseni, and Rasenæ.*

The people of Etruria seem to have been a mixed race of Umbrian aborigines and Pelasgian invaders. From the latter, the name of Tyrrhenians and Tyrseni seems to have originated, being, in all probability, from Tyrrhis, or, *turris*, a tower, for the construction of which the Pelasgians were celebrated; many such remains of their labours exist in Italy at the present day.

The history of the Umbrian and Etruscan nations is very ancient. The foundation of Ameria, the chief city of the former country, is dated by Cato the Censor, at three hundred and eighty-one years before the building of Rome. The Etruscans were early famed for their skill in augury and divination. We find that the peculiar forms of their religion exercised a vast influence upon the ancient Roman ritual. It was to Etruria that Rome was indebted for her knowledge of music, medicine, astronomy, and painting: arts which,

* The last of these titles has been questioned by Lepsius, who adduces strong evidence to prove that this word is but an orthographical error for the name Tyrseni.

as Niebuhr remarks, the Etruscans did not learn either from the Greeks or Carthaginians, but from the nations of the north ; or still more probably, from their legendary home in Egypt, or the East. Their pottery was unrivalled ; and they have the merit of first having introduced comic actors into Rome, A.U.C., 364.*

The sculpture of Etruria, like that of *Ægina*, was of a severe character : it never seems to have possessed the natural grace of Grecian art ; yet, in common with Tuscan paintings, was not deficient of life and vigour. Some specimens of the latter, found in the recently opened Etruscan sepulchres, display no ordinary progress both in execution and design ; the figures, though seldom graceful, are, with some few exceptions, extremely natural ; many of their representations of the characters in Grecian Mythology being very fine. That the genius of the designer was early applied to the adornment of their works in pottery, is evident from the legend of Demaratus of Corinth, who having been expelled from his native city, emigrated to the kindred nation of Etruria, and brought with him the artists Eucheir and Eugrammus, or in other words, the *cunning potter* and the *skilful designer* ;—epithets implied in their names. It is mostly to their works in clay that we owe our acquaintance with Etruscan art ; nor can it be denied, that it equals the high reputation it possessed in ancient times.

The government of this remarkable people was of a very peculiar kind ; supreme power seems to have been vested in confederacies of twelve cities,† who elected a common high priest to preside over all national festivals. These twelve cities appear to have been in some cases (on the authority of Virgil) classed in sets of three tribes, each of which was divided into four subordinate septs which, however, all collectively acknowledged one city as their head, while each had its own monarch, who was elected for life ;—all these cities

* Liv. vii.

† A similar arrangement prevailed in Ancient Greece, and was called the Amphictyonic League.

seem to have been federally independent of each other. In time of war, one of their kings was chosen supreme military chief, and to him a lictor was sent from each of the cities, in evidence of their obedience and desire to maintain his authority. Virgil represents the whole Etruscan nation encamped on a vast plain, each tribe under its own hereditary chief, waiting the arrival of some heaven-appointed leader.

Independently of the jurisdiction of their kings, a powerful oligarchy of Lucumones, or nobles, appears to have existed in each city; that they exercised authority over a class of degraded serfs is evident from the narrative of Volsinii, in which city the slaves are said to have revolted, and kept the mastery for many years, during which time they committed atrocities on their former masters, rivalling the horrors of modern revolutions;* and which will always be the case where a licentious mob assumes the supreme command. These Lucumones at various times emigrated with their families and retainers to Rome, especially during the prevalence of faction in their native land, but there their progress to the higher offices of the state was extremely slow; they were assigned a particular quarter of the city, while the citizens were long accustomed to regard them as strangers.† (Inquilini.)

The religion of Etruria formed an important element in the constitution of that country; the character of their faith was gloomy and severe, though in their ideas of a future state, they were far more enlightened than either Greece or Rome. They did not, like the Romans, crowd their mythology with foreign personifications, degrading and sensualizing those attributes which they did not comprehend; nor make their deities the subject of indecent legends and scurrilous satire. Their divinities were too stern and too powerful to be dealt with like mortal subjects. Of these, the greatest were

* The French revolution of 1789, and the Negro revolution in Hayti, of 1796.

† Cæles Vibenna was one of these emigrants.

Tina, Talna, and Minerva; the symbolical embodiment of *power, riches, and wisdom*, who together formed one great omnipotent being, the creator and ruler of the universe. Under such distorted forms, which Etruria shared in common with some of the older nations of the East, it is not difficult to perceive the remnants of that purer and nobler faith from whose fold those tribes had so early separated: we perceive in their attributes of power, riches, and wisdom, while they gave credence to the existence of a Supreme Being, who ruled universal nature with infinite justice.

In Etruria, as well as in ancient Greece, the constantly recurring changes of the seasons, the ever-varying face of nature and the universe, were represented under mystic symbols, whose original and implied meanings were often forgotten by the blind superstition of the multitude. Varieties of these myths were introduced into the sacred books of the Romans, where they met with a similar fate. Above all these personages, there sat enthroned a council of "Shrouded Gods," whose name it was forbidden to utter;* and exercising a stern and decisive power, even over the mighty three. They did not believe, like the latter disciples of Epicurus, that the gods disregarded the concerns of men; but rather considered that their meanest actions were watched and directed by supernatural powers. From the moment an infant drew the first breath of life, that life was ever after subject to the influence of a *good* and *evil genius*. His own free will and natural bias, either to vice or virtue, determined the ultimate mastery of his fate. When the corpse was laid in the silent tomb, the trembling soul was ushered by these two dread witnesses of his career on earth, to the throne of powerful and relentless judges: the dark demon of evil acting as accuser, while the brighter guardian spirit pleaded for reward of merit, and pardon of transgressions.

* This was like the Demogorgon of the ancients, "whose very name they dreaded to pronounce."—See Newton's Milton, *Pard. Lost*, B. II. 965. n.

On the Etruscan sepulchres we see these genii appropriately represented: the demon of Evil appears of huge size, black and bearded, armed like the Munkir and Nekir of the Oriental Hades, with a mallet, by means of which he enforces the obedience of his unhappy victims. The Good genius, mild and beneficent in feature, constantly appears rescuing the soul from the fearful grasp of his arch-enemy; or else, harnessed with him to a car, on which sits a shrouded ghost, proceeding towards the inexorable tribunal of the dead. Under the name of Typhon, the Etruscans recognised and worshipped that principle of destruction to which the Hindoos pay homage in their deity, Siva. The Typhon is represented partly of the human shape, but winged, and ending in two monstrous serpents from the waist downwards, the hair composed of twisted snakes; and the whole attitude of the figure is capable of awakening no other feeling but that of terror. The Greek deities, Atropos and Pluto, had also their Etruscan representatives in Nursia and Mantus.

The notation of time in ancient Etruria displays in its rigid and elaborate character, strong proofs of an early connexion with the East. They did not content themselves, like many early tribes, with merely observing the regularly recurring changes of day and night—summer and winter—the phases of the moon; and her influence upon the waters of the deep; but following the example of the sages of Chaldea, they fixed their eyes upon the stars, and from the slow revolution of those glorious luminaries, they soon constructed unerring tables for the division of time. The Pleiades, Hyades, Arcturus, Orion, and the Wain, were known to them by the names which they at present bear. The rising and setting of these constellations were early divided into two kinds, termed by the Greeks, *heliacal* and *cosmical*; the first was that period in which the stars emerged from, or were obscured by, the sun's rays; the second, when they rose above or sunk beneath the visual horizon. These periods were early used by the Greek writers on agriculture, to mark the proper sea-

sons for the various labours which the soil demands from the patient hand of husbandry. Even in Virgil's time, these phenomena must have been well understood by the peasantry of Italy, and which they received from the subjugated Etrurians.

By the aid of their great astronomical knowledge, of which but fragments seem to have reached the Romans, the Etruscans calculated their calendars and annals with unvarying accuracy, while their soothsayers drew from the same mystic source, strange auguries with reference to future destinies of men and nations. They held the singular doctrine, that to this world has been allotted *eight* secular days for its existence, each day consisting of ten seces, or eleven hundred years—the entire span of its duration would thus amount to eight thousand eight hundred years—that by the decrees of fate, the very gods themselves should submit to this irrevocable law, and undergo the common lot of mortals. The ruins of Petra, the capital of the Edomites, or Idumeans, discovered by Buckhardt, display a wonderful similarity to Etruscan monuments at present existing. Their rock-hewn sepulchres, and the fantastic sculptures which adorn them, almost persuade the traveller that he is standing amid the remains of Camers or Tarquinii. Amphitheatres hollowed out of the solid stone, pillars, colonnades, pyramidal mausolea, tombs of the most elaborate workmanship, and arranged with such symmetry as to form picturesque cities of the dead, meet the eye on all sides, and are equally familiar to the tourist in Etruria. A general opinion prevails amongst the Jews of the present day, that their conqueror, Titus, was of Etruscan extraction, and thus fulfilled the old prophecy—"That Jacob should be subject to Esau."

But it was not in the stars alone that the Etrurians attempted to read the destinies of mankind. The entrails of sacrificial victims, and the flight of birds were supposed to afford a clear insight into the decrees of Fate. Of these methods of divination, which the Romans borrowed from Etruria, we shall speak hereafter. In the interpretation of lightning they were supposed

to excel ; and the dark mysteries of magic were believed to be practised by Etruscan hags with fatal success. In all these arts they were instructed, as they fabled, by Tages, a wise dwarf, who rose out of the ground, and whose laws were subsequently confirmed by Tarchon, the legendary Lycurgus of Etruria.

Of the manners and customs of the Etrurians we can form but vague conjectures. No ancient history of this people is in existence ; the works of Cæcina and Flaccus are lost, as well as a Tyrrhenian history, in twenty books, by the Emperor Claudius,* which, from the testimony of antiquity, would appear to have been no very brilliant literary production ; there is, however, reason to believe that even this besotted emperor was better acquainted with his subject than many whose works were more esteemed.

The paintings on the sepulchres of Etruria, displayed much refinement in the arts of life. Many jewels and golden ornaments, wrought with great skill, have been discovered in their tombs, together with almost all the accompaniments of an ancient toilet, including mirrors of polished steel, richly chased chaplets of myrtle, ivy, and oak leaves worked in solid gold, necklaces, bracelets, ear and finger rings of a very beautiful description. A banquet is represented on one of the tombs, in which an equal number of male and female guests occupy couches arranged round a table supported upon four legs, of superior finish. Among the viands spread before this party, eggs have been recognised, which, as well as in Rome, formed no inconsiderable item in their feasts. Minstrels playing upon their double pipes,—an instrument resembling the flageolet of modern times, and having a still greater similarity to the nay, or flute of the modern Egyptians ; and male and female dancers

* Claudius, when in a private station, employed himself in the innocent enjoyments of literature. Beside other productions, he wrote a History of Carthage.—(All now lost). In his latter years he suffered sensuality to destroy the fine endowments of his nature: from this period his life was inglorious, and his end calamitous.

with castanets, keeping time to the measure of the music ; lyrists are also in attendance, while the tables are well supplied with goblets of wine. Among a people so fond of ornament, it might be expected that in their monuments of the dead, we would meet with many representations of funeral obsequies ; but these are, however, rare. The decorations principally consist of banquet scenes, which are strangely incongruous with the character of the place.

On some of their urns appear representations of the administration of justice, judges and lictors, with all the insignia of their office, proceeding to and returning from judgment. On other vases are seen representations of their public games, consisting of combats with the Cestus, or gauntlet, chariot and foot races, wrestling, throwing the discus or quoit, and tilting in full armour. Round the amphitheatre, are represented platforms on which distinguished personages, richly dressed, are accommodated with seats, to behold the games with greater ease, while below them stand crowds of humbler but not less interested spectators.

The knowledge of the fine arts which the Etruscans possessed has been already alluded to. It would not however be correct to assume a very general superiority for their productions in sculpture or painting, many of the latter being executed in a very rude style. The designs on Etruscan vases generally consist of black outlines on a dark reddish brown ground, which produce a dull and unpleasing effect. On one of these vases we see the *Potter's wheel*,* differing in no material manner from the implement employed at the present day : a fact showing the advanced state of civilization of this people before the Romans had existence.

In their lives and manners, the Etruscans were said to have been luxurious and profligate ; although this

* The Potter's wheel was known so early as the time of Homer.

_____ " before his wheel
Seated, the Potter twirls it with both hands."

xviii. Iliad.—*Cowper's Translation.*

charge rests upon the authority of Roman writers, yet from some paintings which occur on the Etruscan monuments, there is however too much reason to believe that the charge was not without foundation ; though perhaps they were not more profligate, or even so much so as their accusers, who, it is well known, carried their sensuality to an extent almost incredible.

The literature of Etruria has completely perished ; the few inscriptions which remain presenting nothing but a hopeless enigma. The great *Eugubine** *inscription*, discovered A.D., 1456, is not a specimen of the Etruscan, but of the Umbrian language : it is written partly in Etruscan and partly in Roman characters. The former, like Hebrew and other *Semitic*† languages, proceed from right to left. The meaning of a few words has been conjectured rather than deciphered, and the general import of the inscription, which is of considerable length, is supposed to refer to sacrificial and augural ceremonies.

An urn has been lately discovered at Cervetri, in Tuscany, which contains the Etruscan alphabet and primer engraved upon its surface, and may afford some clue to the philologist. Our present acquaintance with this language extends but to a few words, scattered through the Roman writers, Festus and Varro ; who, in common with the rest of their countrymen, were utterly ignorant of the language of this people.‡ We have so far indicated some of the leading features of the Etruscan Nation : their remaining history is closely inter-

* These were brazen slabs, or tables, found some centuries ago at Gubbio in Italy.

† The Semitic languages, (so called from Shem, the son of Noah,) are Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic.

‡ Niebuhr has remarked that the sum of our Etruscan knowledge consists in the two words *Avril—Ril* ; (he lived — years,) but it is not even quite certain which is the noun and which the verb. Many eminent scholars have classed the Etruscan language with the Celtic dialects ; and some have endeavoured to interpret Etruscan inscriptions by means of the Irish, the oldest existing type of these languages ; but as these experiments were not conducted on sound principles of philology, their results have not been satisfactory.

twined with the annals of Rome, and will be noticed in its proper place.

THE UMBRI.

Of the Umbrians, the aboriginal inhabitants of a large portion of Etruria, little is now known, save that prior to the greatness of Etruria, they possessed nearly the entire northern half of the Italian peninsula. In the historical times they appear to have been confined to the left bank of the Tiber and the eastern side of the Apennines. They were subdued by the Etruscans, but have left many traces of their pristine sway, even in the names of the Etruscan cities.

THE SABINES.

South of the Tiber, and extending to the borders of Lucania, existed two great Italian races, the Sabines, or Sabellians and Oscans. The former, according to Cato, issued from Amiternum, the highest mountain of the modern Abruzzi, subduing in their course the aboriginal Umbrians on one side, and Cascans on the other. The cause of this migration is stated by Strabo and Dionysius to have been in compliance with an ancient Italian custom, that when any city or tribe was pressed by war or pestilence, they consecrated all the creatures born in the ensuing Spring—(*ver Sacrum*) ; when twenty years had elapsed, the cattle were sacrificed, and the youth sent forth to conquer new homes and habitations for themselves.

In these expeditions, the Sabines imagined themselves to have been aided by supernatural interposition, under which influence one of their tribes, the Hirpinians, followed a wolf. One colony was guided by a woodpecker, (a bird dedicated to Mars, the god of war,) into the territory of Picenum, then peopled by Pelasgians. Another migration followed an ox, as they thought by divine command, into the land of the Opicans, and who became the great Samnite people whose name is so intimately connected with the subsequent history of Rome.

The Marsi, another Samnite tribe, were a hardy and warlike race, who formed in aftertimes the flower of the Roman infantry. The Oscans chiefly inhabited the country between the rivers Tiber and Laos; they included the Ausonii, subordinate to whom were the important septa of the Volsci and Æqui, the early and pertinacious adversaries of Rome.

The several Sabine tribes seem to have so far coalesced as to form a language compounded of their respective dialects. This language was known by the name of Oscan, or Sabello-Oscan; but it is here chiefly noticed as having formed a large element in primitive Latin, and even in the agricultural districts in the immediate vicinity of Rome. Hence it was called "*lingua Romana rustica*," pure Latin being for a considerable period confined to Rome and its immediate colonies. Grotesque farces in this Oscan language were for many ages great favourites with the Romans. Modern scholars have been more fortunate with this language than with that of Etruria; such specimens as have been preserved of the former in the Bantine inscription, are deciphered with considerable ease;—their characters were the same as those of the Romans.

The religion of the Sabines was very different from that of Etruria: their chief deity was Sabus, the son of Sancus, Janus or Dianus, the god of day; his sister, Diana, presided over the great luminary of the night. They paid great veneration to the sun and stars, also to particular animals, setting apart sacred groves to their worship, in which were maintained perpetual fires. And here it may be remarked, that the Sabæans, or ancient Abyssinians, supposed to have been the parent stock of the Sabines, were also addicted to the same superstition of star-worship.* Saturn and his wife,

* The Sabæans were the first who brought ruin upon Job. We find that patriarch fearing that he paid adoration to the host of Heaven.—(Job, xxxi. 27.) Thus as we have seen from the religion of the Etruscans, it is easy to conceive that these early inhabitants in Italy brought some knowledge of the true God with them, though debased by idolatry.—See page ante 10.

Ops, were probably the god and goddess of the earth ;—the latter was known in Roman mythology by the names of Rhea and Cybele,—her rites were solemnized by the Roman matrons with the greatest secrecy, under the titles of *Bona Dea*.

We have so far traced the localities of the early Italian tribes, in accordance with the testimonies of ancient historians, or the inferences which may be drawn from various independent circumstances. In later periods their denominations have been often changed ; their boundaries contracted or extended ; obscure villages have risen into important cities ; old, powerful dynasties exist but in romantic legends, or the faint echoes of tradition. Nor can the nations of Italy claim more than the mournful honour of having fallen beneath the arms of Rome. From henceforth, the task of the historian must be to seek the origin of their haughty conquerors, and disengage from the tangled web of fable one single thread of truth, which may serve to guide us out of a labyrinth of perverted legends and falsified chronology. But happily this pursuit is no longer difficult ; the footsteps of genius have already marked out for us an unerring road ; if the goal, indeed, be not yet attained, the way at least is certain ; and the most accomplished scholars may be proud to pursue a path which the brilliancy of Niebuhr* and the calm philosophy of Arnold have already opened before them.

* See Note A.

CHAPTER II.

Foreign settlers in Italy.—Legends of Evander—The Potitii and Pinarii—Antenor and Æneas.—First Record of a Trojan Colony in Italy.—Alba Longa.—Livy the Historian, his peculiarities.—Dionysius of Halicarnassus, his authorities, badly arranged.

In early times, about the period of the Trojan war, Evander, king of Arcadia,* son, as some say, of Mercury and the Prophetic Nymph, Carmentis, having committed an accidental homicide, was compelled by his indignant subjects to abandon his kingdom. Collecting as many of his followers as were willing to share in the exile of their sovereign, Evander intrusted himself, his children, and his household gods to the guidance of the ocean, and was wafted to the coast of Latium in Italy. Proceeding up the river Tiber, he settled with his retainers amid those hills upon which Rome was afterwards to arise, and there founded the city of Pal-lantium, in memory of a favourite retreat of his in his native Arcadia.

At this period the Aventine Mount was infested by a ferocious robber named Cacus, the son of Vulcan, who had bestowed upon him the terrible power of breathing forth fire from his mouth and nostrils. The neighbouring shepherds shuddered at the name of this monster, by whom they were incessantly plundered of their cattle, and inhumanly slain if they ventured to resist; a signal act of audacity proved fatal to Cacus.

When Hercules was returning victorious from the conquest of the triple-bodied Geryon,† he drove some oxen of surpassing beauty through these sequestered regions. The cupidity of Cacus was excited as he beheld them. When Hercules, wearied with his exertions, allowed his cattle to drink of the waters of the Tiber, and browse upon the surrounding pasture, the hero

* Arcadia, an inland country of Peloponnessus, in Greece.

† He was fabled to have three bodies and three heads.

meanwhile sunk into a profound sleep. Cacus seized the opportunity, and stealing forth from his cave, selected four bulls and so many heifers from the herds of the son of Alcmena ; but, dreading the vengeance of Hercules, should he trace the robber, he dragged the animals backwards by their tails into his cavern, so that the traces of their hoofs might baffle pursuit, then closed the entrance of the cave with a huge mass of rock.

Hercules, on awakening, missed his oxen, which were amongst the choicest of his herd, and deceived by the false traces of their hoofs, he exhausted every means to regain them. Wearied with his fruitless efforts, he now prepared to depart. His remaining oxen lowed plaintively at leaving this pleasant pasture ; they were answered by the stolen cattle in the cave, and the vengeance of Hercules was now directed towards the proper quarter. He rushed to the Aventine Mount, but sought in vain for the entrance to the cave ; at last, enraged, he tore away a huge fragment of the mountain, and rushed through the cleft upon the dismayed Cacus, who in vain poured forth upon the hero cataracts of fire. The monster was strangled ; and the trembling swains gazed with mingled awe and delight upon the lifeless form of their ferocious enemy. With rude simplicity they prepared a banquet for their deliverer ; and learning his supernatural lineage and wondrous achievements, Evander and his subjects instituted in his honour a sacrifice and yearly games ; to this sacrifice two illustrious Arcadian families, the Potitii and Pinarii, who had followed the fortunes of Evander, contended for the honour of the priesthood. A sacrificial banquet having been proclaimed, the Potitii arrived first, and in time to fulfil their ministry ; the Pinarii did not arrive until the entrails of the victims had been consumed according to custom. The right of priesthood to this ancient religious ceremony remained in the family of the Potitii :—the Pinarii were forbidden ever to taste of sacrificial entrails.

LEGEND OF ANTENOR AND ÆNEAS.

When Troy had fallen before the arms of the Atridæ, and the noblest of its citizens were carried away slaves by the remorseless victors ; two Trojan chiefs, Æneas and Antenor, either by the special favour of the gods, or on account of their avowed desire for peace, and the restoration of Helen, were exempted from the common lot of their countrymen. Retiring to the forest of Mount Ida, in Crete, there they collected the scattered remnants of their friends, and constructed from the sacred pines of that mountain, as many ships as they required to hold their diminished numbers. Antenor and Æneas steered in different directions ; the first had the good fortune to land on the coast of the Adriatic, by the river Timavus. Having expelled the aborigines, (the Euganei,) Antenor, together with a colony from Paphlagonia, in Asia Minor, founded the city of Patavium or Padua ; famed in after years as the birth-place of Livy the historian.

Æneas, the founder of a mighty race, was destined to undergo more troubles than ordinary men. By an oracle of Apollo, he was commanded to seek the fertile shores of Hesperia ; yet, by a power he could not control, he wandered for seven years along the coasts of Thrace,—amidst the islands of Greece, and the shores of Sicily. On the latter island, his father, the aged Anchises, whom he had borne upon his back from the flames of Troy, expired, overcome by toil and years. At last the long expected land appeared in sight, and Æneas sprung upon the shores of Latium. New troubles waited upon the weary Trojans : Latinus, king of that country, appeared in arms to repel the new settlers ; but on holding a parley with their leader, he found an ancient tradition that these strangers had been long expected by the seers of Latium ; and that their chief was destined by the gods to be the future husband of his daughter, Lavinia. King Latinus then immediately offered to those Trojans shelter and protection : to their leader, alliance with his family and a share in his

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kingdom,—terms which Æneas gladly accepted ;—but his nuptials were soon interrupted by a formidable enemy.

Turnus, king of the Rutuli, to whom the young princess Lavinia had been previously promised in marriage, became indignant at this preference shown to an utter stranger. He called to his aid the princes of the surrounding states ; a battle ensued ; the Rutuli were defeated, and their leader slain. Lavinia became the bride of Æneas, with whom king Latinus shared his kingdom, and the Trojans were sunk under the general denomination of Latins. The happiness of Æneas, however, was short-lived. After a prosperous reign of three years, Mezentius, king of Etruria, jealous of the rising state of Lavinium, made war upon Æneas. In a battle at the river Numicus, the hero disappeared, and was supposed to have perished in its waves ; but the legend was invented that Venus had raised him to the banquet of the gods, and the inhabitants of the earth paid him divine honours, under the name of the Terrestrial Jupiter.

LEGEND OF ASCANIUS, OR IULUS.

Ascanius, or Iulus, was the son of Æneas by Creusa ; he was born before the capture of Troy. Following the fortunes of his father ; but after some years he left Lavinium, and founded, near the Alban Mount, that *Alba Longa* from which in after times the Romans so proudly claimed to be descended.

To *Alba Longa* the seat of government was removed ; and there the descendants of Ascanius for three centuries held undisturbed dominion. The river Albula, now called the Tiber, was made the southern boundary of Etruria. A long roll of Alban Princes succeeded :—Silvius, son of Ascanius ; Æneas Silvius ; Alba ; Atys ; Capys, Capetus ; Tiberinus, who perished in the waters of the Albula, conferred his name upon that river ; Agrippa, Romulus Silvius ; Aventinus ; Proca, to whom succeeded his sons, Numitor and Amulius.

THE FOREGOING LEGENDS CONSIDERED.

The constant recurrence of Greek settlers in Italy, so frequent in the early Latin legends, might dispose many to attach to them more historical importance than they intrinsically deserve. But when we reflect upon the vast influence of the Pelasgians upon the population of Italy, and consequently upon its civil and religious institutions, it cannot be surprising that the natives should have endeavoured to trace back their origin to those long forgotten settlers.

Such intercourse as was established between Greece and Italy, in the historical period of these countries, must have displayed much mutual resemblance; not only in religious worship, but also in the personal manners and customs of these two nations. To account for this by early Greek migrations to the shores of Italy, was easy and natural, affording at once a ready answer to the inquiries of the multitude, and a plausible excuse for various civil and ecclesiastical innovations.

In such legends, the national pride was never hurt by the recital of foreign conquest; the strangers are always described as of royal race indeed, but exiles and unfortunate; never surrounded by legions or warriors, but attended only by a few faithful retainers, relying on the hospitality, and claiming the protection, of the aborigines. Such colonists, therefore, could have exercised but little influence upon the surrounding tribes; they would have been rapidly absorbed amid an overwhelming majority of those with whom they settled.

It cannot escape our notice, that the original home of these settlers is always placed in some purely Pelasgian locality, as Arcadia, Crete, or Lemnos. Hence, to the legendary class of narratives, the story of Evander manifestly belongs. It is by no means improbable that the Dorian immigration and the conquest of Greece by a new people may have given rise to the report which we trace in all the legends, that the subjects of them were obliged to fly, by some sedition in their native country.

The legend of Evander is merely home sprung ; nor is it necessary to assume, as Niebuhr has done, that the town of Palatium was confounded with the Arcadian Pallanteum. Such confusions belong strictly to the period of the early historians, who seem to have possessed a remarkable desire for such incongruous absurdities. The peculiar worship of Jupiter and Silvanus, assigned by the poet Virgil to Evander and his followers, is purely Pelasgian. Niebuhr has observed that Evander is but another name for Latinus : that in one form of the story, he gives his daughter in marriage to Hercules, in another, to Æneas, and that both Evander and Latinus were fabled to have sprung from prophetic parents. Tradition, however, makes Evander anterior to Latinus by two generations, including the reigns of Picus and Faunus.

It would be easy to explain the story of Cacus, by supposing Hercules* to have been some real character who exterminated a formidable band of robbers ;—but the process of expunging from a mythical narrative every circumstance of a supernatural character is not of the least importance for the elucidation of facts. Niebuhr observes with justice, that those legends which are marked with the greatest show of probability, are unquestionably less ancient and genuine than those of a more extravagant nature.

LEGEND OF ANTENOR AND ÆNEAS EXAMINED.

The story of Antenor's settlement in Liguria, is probably of a more modern date than that with respect to Æneas, and seems to have risen from those Greek cyclic poets who continued the story of the Iliad beyond the destruction of Troy.

* The origin of the worship of Hercules it is not easy to trace, nor is his identification with the Sabine divinity, Semo Sancus, a matter of certainty. The names of Potitii and Pinarii have been respectively explained as "those who were successful, and those who went hungry," from the Latin Potior, to possess, and the Greek *πεινᾶω*, to hunger.

The Antenor mentioned by Homer is described as an aged man, whose infirmities exempted him from the field of battle or the duties of war, and entitled him to a place amid the elders of the people at the city gates ; he has grandsons bearing arms among the Trojan host. How far these circumstances correspond with his energy and courage at a later period it is not easy to determine. The leaders of colonies are generally described as young and vigorous men. Evander, indeed, is introduced by Virgil as a man advanced in life ; yet he acknowledges that he has been many years settled in Latium, and that his son had been born in that country of a Sabine mother. The name of the Euganei, who were said to have been expelled by Antenor, has a Greek look ; nor is it easy to reconcile the idea of the latter commanding a tribe of Paphlagonians, whose names are not mentioned among the allies of Troy.

The story of Æneas is of much importance, from its more immediate connexion with the subject matter of the present work.

Niebuhr has collected with much care, all the original testimonies with reference to this migration. Homer tells us that "the power of Æneas should rule over the Trojans, and his sons' sons, and those who from them should be sprung." Yet a fragment of the Lesser Iliad* (attributed by some to the Greek poet Lesches,) describes Æneas as led captive by Neoptolemus, or Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, to the Grecian fleet, after the destruction of Troy. In a tragedy of Sophocles, now lost (the Læocoon), Æneas is described as retiring from the city before its capture, and departing with many of the Phrygians to new abodes. Stesichorus, a Greek poet who flourished about 550 years before Christ, sung of the departure of Æneas from Troy,—the preservation of his father, and his household gods ; but there is no evidence that he mentioned the colonization of Italy by Æneas. Arctinus, somewhat more than two centuries earlier, and said to have been

* Of the Lesser or Little Iliad no more than a few verses remain ; they are quoted by Pausanias.

a pupil of Homer, seems only to have described Æneas as having saved the Palladium or sacred statue of Minerva from the general conflagration, Cephalon, who wrote a history of the Phrygians, about three centuries and a half after the building of Rome, relates that Æneas died shortly after founding the city of Ænea, in Thrace; but that Romus, one of his four sons, together with his father's followers, built the city of Rome in the second generation after the capture of Troy. This is the first mention on record of a Trojan colony in Italy; but that there is a wide difference between this statement and the popular legend, must be evident to all.

Hesiod, in his *Theogony*, speaks of Latinus as a son of Ulysses and Circe, and that in the confines of the Sacred Isles, he, together with his brother, ruled over the illustrious Tyrrhenians. Appollodorus of Gela, a cotemporary of Menander, calls Romus the son of Æneas and Lavinia; Callias, in the fifth century B. C., speaks of the marriage of Roma with king Latinus. The probable origin of saving the Palladium may be found in the worship of the Penates,* at Lavinium, which was said to be identical with the religious rites of the Cabiri at Samothrace. If we may believe Timæus, there were certain images of clay preserved in the Temple at Lavinium, which the inhabitants declared to have come from Troy. As early as the year 515, A. U. C., the Roman Senate acknowledged their affinity with the Trojans, by writing a letter to king Seleucus, in which they requested that the Ilians, the kinsmen of the Roman people, should be exempt from tribute. In the time of Augustus, the idea became so strong in the minds of the people, that partaking of the same delusion, he was about attempting to restore the city of Troy, and remove thither the seat of government: to dissuade him from such a purpose, the beautiful Ode of Horace (III. 2.) is said to have been written.

* *Penates*, the household gods; the *Lares* were the deified ancestors of each Roman family, from *Lares*, an Etruscan word.

In the remains of Nævius,* a Roman poet, who flourished in the first Punic war, B. C. 234, the legend of Æneas assumes much the same shape as in Sophocles and Arctinus* of Miletus. It was on the writings of that early Latin epic poet, Nævius, that the Æneid of Virgil was founded; and though the hero is described by Nævius as crowding all his followers and effects into one single ship, we are justified in believing, from many fragments now remaining, and from the testimonies of old scholiasts, that the Episodes of the Tempest, and the passion of Dido, were borrowed by Virgil from this early Roman poet.

The worship of the Pelasgian divinities, Cabeiri, at Samothrace, and their identification with the Penates at Lavinium, may indeed be considered the clue to the interpretation of the whole story. In some legends, the entire of Latium was described as belonging to the descendants of Ulysses and early Greek settlers; but this form of the story never appears to have been popular in Italy. The Trojans and Arcadians were both of Pelasgian origin; and the identity of worship may have given rise to the report of the introduction of the Penates into Italy from the East.

With regard to the actual settlement of the Trojans in Latium, and the subsequent history of Æneas, there are likewise many versions. In some accounts, a battle takes place between the Trojans and the allied troops of Turnus and Latinus, and in which the former is slain, and the latter makes peace with the victorious invaders. Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, appears in almost all the stories of the foreign settlers in Italy as married to the chief of the strangers. Under the name of Launa, the daughter of Evander is married to Hercules,—to Locrus, as the daughter of the Enotrian king Latinus,—and she is even wedded to Æneas, as the daughter of Anius, king of Delos.

The death of Æneas in the river Numicus, and his worship under the name of *Jupiter Inidges*, is a feature

* Nævius is the earliest *Latin*, and Arctinus the earliest *Greek* poets to whose writings distinct dates can be assigned.

peculiar to most of the stories relative to foreign settlers in Italy. All those persons who returned from Troy, either as victors or vanquished, were destined to some wandering fatality. The early Greek poems, called *vorroi*, and which relate to their adventures, partake largely of this melancholy character;—the history of the Atridæ, Ulysses, Diomedes, Teucer, Ajax, Oileus, are filled with tragical incidents—the story of Diomedes in particular; his domestic misfortunes, his settlement in Italy, the transformation of his companions into birds, is of a similar tone with the misfortunes and wandering of Æneas. To the latter, the Roman Pontiffs, attended by the Consuls, paid a yearly homage on the banks of the Numicus. According to Cato, Anchises, the father of Æneas, reached the promised land, and the city which they had first founded was called Troy, and not Lavinium.

ALBA LONGA.

The story of the foundation of Alba Longa, by Ascanius, is so intimately connected with the legend of Æneas, that it must stand or fall according to what credence we give the latter. In one story, Julius founded Alba Longa, thirty years after the building of Lavinium; in another, Lavinium was a colony founded by six hundred noble Alban families. One thing at least is certain, that for many years Lavinium was the seat of government for the Latin States, and that they considered it the sacred abode of their gods. At the same time there are many legends that would imply a higher antiquity for Alba.

The population of Latium, of which Alba seems to have been the head, consisted of two distinct unions or confederacies of the Prisci and Latini, who were collectively called either Latini, or Prisci Latini; these included thirty townships. Pliny distinguished twenty Latin and thirty Alban towns; but the method of their relationship cannot now be traced; it is supposed that the *Populi Albensis* were colonies from Alba.

The list of the Alban kings is generally admitted to be a forgery. The genius of Livy, so eminent in description, and so accurate in detail, seems to have been but little directed towards the investigation of facts or the refutation of falsehood. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whose work upon Roman Antiquities is in the Greek language, is so far satisfactory that he does not attempt to alter any of the legends to an historical form; but his authorities are badly arranged. Still it is much to be regretted that his narrative comes no further down than the capture of the city by the Gauls,—a somewhat imaginative period in Roman annals.

CHAPTER III.

Foundation of Rome.—Romulus, First King of Rome.—Legend of his birth.—Rape of the Sabines.—Death of Romulus.—Legend of Romulus Examined.—The Pomœrium of Rome.—The Seven Hills.—Summary of the Foundation of Rome.—Rape of the Sabines Explained.—Number of the Original Roman Tribes.

Proca, king of Alba, had two sons, Numitor and Amulius; to Numitor, the elder, he bequeathed the hereditary throne of his native city. But neither reverence for the memory of his father, nor affection for his brother, could subdue the lust of ambition in the breast of Amulius; he expels Numitor, usurps his throne, puts to death his male children, and, by making his daughter, Rhea Silvia, a vestal virgin, he insures himself against the danger of successors to his brother.

The vestal, however, gave birth to two male children, and declared Mars, the god of war, to be the father of her illegitimate offspring. The rage and guilty terror of Amulius was aroused. Rhea Silvia was condemned to die, and the tyrant ordered her twin children to be cast into the waters of the Tiber. That river then chanced to overflow its banks, and as those per-

sons who were commissioned to execute the mandates of Amulius could not approach the current of the stream, they deposited the children in a shallow spot, which was soon deserted by the retiring waters. The cries of the helpless infants attracted a she-wolf to the place ; yet, this beast of prey not only did not harm the children, but, forgetting its ferocious nature, afforded them that sustenance from its milk which they were denied by the cruelty of man. Faustulus, the king's herdsman, happening to visit the spot, found the wolf licking the sleeping babes. Rescuing the twins from their savage nurse, this shepherd trusted them to the care of his wife, to be reared together with his own children. These twin children, to whom the names of Romulus and Remus were given, soon grew in strength and courage, and became the scourge of those robbers who had long held the shepherds of the surrounding country in awe. Collecting bands of daring spirits like themselves, they drove the brigands from their fastnesses, and divided with their followers the dearly earned spoils. The robbers, unable to cope with the twin brothers in equal combat, resorted to treachery. Seizing the opportunity when Romulus and Remus with their party were engaged in the celebration of the Lupercalia, a festival in honour of Arcadian Pan, a number of the marauders rushed upon them, slew their companions, and carried off the brothers as their prisoners, whom, with strange audacity, they charged before Amulius with plundering the adjacent country. As Numitor was alleged to have suffered most by these incursions, the prisoners were delivered over into his hands. On inquiring their name and parentage, Numitor was struck by the strange coincidence of their history and that of his daughter ; but the evidence of Faustulus convinced him that his own grandchildren were then standing before him. The knowledge of their lineage was sufficient to arouse the fiery youths to vengeance. Collecting their adherents, they surrounded the palace of Amulius ; attacked and slew the tyrant, and saluted Numitor as king. The multitude heard their story, and applauded their cou-

rage—the declining years of Numitor were spent on the throne of his ancestors.

The restless spirit of Romulus and Remus could not long brook to live in retirement as the subjects of their grandsire. The youths yearned for their former life of freedom and independence; they resolved to found a city upon those hills where their early years had been spent; but their simultaneous birth presented a difficulty; one or other should claim priority. To settle this dispute they agreed to watch for auguries upon two different hills—Romulus upon the Palatium, and Remus on the Aventine Mount. The first omen appeared to Remus, who beheld six vultures; hardly had he announced his augury, when Romulus beheld twelve. A dispute now arose between their retainers; those relying on priority—these upon the greater number. Remus perished in the broil, when Romulus became sole chief of the infant state. A wall was built, enclosing the Palatine with some of the surrounding land, and the neighbouring shepherds were invited to enter the new community.

The progress of colonization proving slow, Romulus made his new city an asylum for all the outlaws of the surrounding states, and for all those whose turbulence or whose crimes had made them exiles from their native country. These measures soon filled the new city with daring, lawless characters, whom none but the stern Romulus was fit to restrain. Magistrates for the administration of justice, and twelve lictors for its execution were instituted; a number chosen by Romulus in grateful commemoration of the twelve vultures that appeared to his augury. The sacred rights of religion were instituted as the most powerful bond of union in the infant state; and the rude peasants were taught to acknowledge the existence of an avenging being, who would punish in another life those crimes that had evaded the pursuit of human justice. One hundred senators were also chosen from the most worthy of the senators.

RAPE OF THE SABINES.

The population of Rome as yet consisted of none but male inhabitants; thus circumstanced, the new-born city must have eventually soon expired. It was in vain that Romulus sought an alliance for his subjects in the neighbouring states, who haughtily repelled the idea of connexion with foreigners and outlaws; his ambassadors were treated with scorn and insult; they were told that "Romulus had best open a place of refuge for women, and that such characters would be suitable wives for the Romans." Romulus repressed his indignation, and prepared for the celebration of great games in honour of Consus, the Etruscan Neptune. To these the families of the surrounding cities were invited; curiosity tempted large numbers of the Sabines and inhabitants of Crustumerium, and the Antemnæ to visit the newly built city of Rome. While the visitors were intent viewing the spectacle before them, at a given signal from Romulus, the wives and daughters of the strangers were seized and carried away by force; their brothers or husbands were too few to rescue them, and the protection of the gods were invoked to no purpose. The lamentations of the captives were drowned in the shouts of the multitude, and the exhortations of Romulus, who advised the women, as they had not the most remote chance of ever returning to their friends, to cherish their new connexions with the same affection as they did the former.

Kind and respectful treatment soon pacified the terror and indignation of the Sabine women; but their kinsmen sought for vengeance. The inhabitants of Crustumerium and Antemnæ marched upon Rome; but Romulus routed their united armies, and, having slain their general with his own hand, bore the spoils to the Capitolium Hill, and there marked out the boundaries of that temple to Jupiter which was ever after the glory of ancient Rome.

The Sabines were more tardy, but more successful in the field. Under their king, Titus Tatius, they marched to Rome, and having bribed Tarpeia, the

daughter of the governor, S. Tarpeius, with the promise of three golden bracelets, they obtained admission, by night, into the citadel ; Tarpeia received the reward of her treachery, being crushed under the bucklers of the enemy ; and the Tarpeian rock, near which she perished, close to the Capitol, used for the execution of criminals, was called by her name. At day-break, the indignant Romans perceived their foe in their citadel, and rushed tumultuously to the assault ; their want of caution, and the death of their brave leader, Hostus Hostilius, proved disastrous to the Romans, who were routed as far as the old gate of the Palatium. Romulus, hurried along by the crowd of fugitives, lifted up his weapon towards the skies, and prayed to Jupiter to check the disgraceful flight of his army. As if inspired by heaven, he shouted aloud, "Jove bids you halt, and turn to meet your foes." The voice of their leader reassured the flying Romans ; they returned to the charge, repelled the Sabines, and silenced the boastings of their chief, who was exclaiming that they had conquered these perfidious friends and cowardly foes. The fight was renewed with fury, and sad carnage must have ensued, had not the Sabine women, with dishevelled locks, rushed amid the combatants, and implored their brothers and fathers on one side, and their husbands on the other, not to stain themselves and their offspring with unnatural gore ; or, if the quarrel must be decided, let them turn their arms upon the unhappy cause. A truce ensues ; the relations of the Sabine women settle in Rome, and thirty tribes are formed from the names of the principal matrons of that nation. Titus Tatius shared the throne with Romulus, and the two races rapidly coalesced.

Tatius did not long enjoy the sovereignty of Rome. A few years after these events, he was assassinated at Lavinium, by some Laurentines whom he had treated with injustice. Romulus neither lamented nor avenged his death. A war with the Fidenates, and another, shortly after, with the inhabitants of Veii, engaged the attention of the people. Both armies were routed by

the invincible Romulus, and a peace of forty years ensued, during which time the Roman state rapidly increased in wealth and power. A body-guard of three hundred men, called Celeres, was formed by Romulus, for the defence of his person ; and the territories of Rome were widely extended by the lands of her conquered enemies.

But the time had now arrived when Rome was to lose her illustrious founder. His mission was concluded. A city had been built, whose fame was destined to outlive the flight of ages, and the crash of empires ; her foes dared no longer to approach her gates. Now husbands reaped their harvests in security ; palaces and temples were rising within her walls. The troops were assembled in the Campus Martius ; the altars were heaped with victims. Suddenly the sky grows dark : a storm disperses the multitude. When the strife of elements had subsided, they cast their eyes upon the throne—it was vacant ! Romulus was no longer upon the earth ; and it was believed that, in the fiery chariot of Mars, his sire, the hero had been exalted to the converse of the gods. A sorrowful silence prevailed amid the assembled throng ; then with one accord, they saluted their immortal chief as a deity, and invoked his benign protection. There were not wanting persons who asserted that Romulus fell a victim to the hatred of the senate ; but the charge was repelled by the evidence of Proculus Julius, a noble citizen, who declared that Romulus had appeared to him, and had prophesied the future greatness of that city which he had founded. His story was believed, and the Romans vied with one another in paying divine honour to their immortal progenitor, under the title of Quirinus.

Thus ended the memorable life of Romulus, whose name can never be forgotten while a single stone remains of the ruins of the Capitol, or within the precincts of the seven hills.

LEGEND OF ROMULUS EXAMINED.

The story of the birth of Romulus and the foundation

of Rome is one of the most obscure points in legendary history. The narrative just given, chiefly from the authority of Livy, bears throughout the strong impress of an epic poem. There are all the elements of an ancient heroic lay : divine lineage ; unvanquished valour ; celestial interposition ; and the ultimate removal of the hero to the mansion of the gods. Every other form which the legend has assumed displays these characteristics in a greater or lesser degree. It is hardly necessary to state, that all this is not only a very improbable, but an utterly impossible description of the foundation of Rome. What, then, is the truth ? That, unfortunately, is as uncertain as the legend is certainly untrue. From the variations of the latter some inferences may be drawn which may help us to the discovery.

The name of the priestess mother of Romulus and Remus is variously given as Ilia, Rhea Silvia, and Æmylia. The celebrated Perizonius* long since observed, that she is never called Ilia but when represented as the daughter of Æneas, and Rea Silvia when as an Alban princess. Niebuhr supposes that the name Rhea was a corruption for the Latin word *Rea* "*the accused one*," but on insufficient grounds. In some legends she is married to the river Tiber.† A fragment of Eunius describes her as an orphan. Notwithstanding the variety of opinions upon this subject, I am inclined to believe that the names of Numitor and Amulius seem to have been intended to represent the characters and history of each. Numitor would mean the "*just man*," "*he who had right on his side*," deriving it from νομος, a law, through the Latin words, *numen nummus*, &c., which owe their origin to the same source. In like manner, the name of Numa means nothing more than the "*law-giver*." Amulus we may readily derive from the Greek, αἰμυλος, "*crafty*," "*treacherous*." This, too, will explain the reason why Ilia is called Æmylia by a Greek poet. Faustulus, the herdsman, can mean no more than the "*fosterer*," "*the adopted parent*."

* Animadv. Histor. cap. vii.

† Horat. Carm. I. 2.

The infants were fabled to have been supported by a woodpecker, a bird sacred to Mars. This may have arisen out of the story of their exposure at the Ficus Ruminalis, with which the word Picus, "*a woodpecker*," might be readily confounded.

The attempt to explain the incident of the *she-wolf*, by asserting that the wife of Faustulus was called Lupa, from the profligacy of her manners, is a barren attempt to explain an ancient myth upon historical grounds. The true name of this personage was Acca Laurentia. That the Romans themselves did not believe such an explanation, is clear, from the fact of their having erected, in the year B.C. 295, a bronze representation of the she-wolf and the babes, which noble specimen of early Roman art exists at the present day.

In Plutarch, Amulius is called Tarchetius; and a story is related of the birth of Romulus and Remus, bearing much resemblance to that subsequently given of the origin of Servius Tullius, namely, the appearance of some deity upon the earth, and his desire of alliance with the family. This seems to be a Tuscan form of the legend.

For the foundation of Rome, a vast variety of dates are assigned. The testimony of Varro places it in the year B.C. 753, the sixth Olympiad;* that of Cato, B.C. 752; the other dates vary between 760 and 729, and are chiefly found in the Greek historians. In another version of the legend, Remus was slain by his brother, for contemptuously leaping over the boundary wall of Rome. Elsewhere the death of Remus is attributed to Celer, one of the adherents of Romulus, which may mean that he was slain by the Celeres, or the body-guard of his brother. Upon this a second fable has been grafted, of the institution of Remuria by Romulus, to appease the angry *manes* of his brother.

The anniversary of the foundation of Rome was kept

* The Olympiads were first regularly celebrated B.C., 776, at Elis. Each Olympiad consists of four years. To find an Olympiad, subtract from 776, the year B.C., and divide the remainder by four.

upon the 21st of April, the festival of Pales, when the shepherds heaped the altars of the nymphs with offerings of milk, fruit, and flowers, and purified themselves and cattle by passing through fires of straw—a custom preserved in some Celtic nations to the present day.

The *Pomœrium*, or ancient boundary of the city, was marked out by a brazen ploughshare, to which were yoked a bullock and a heifer. The clods of earth raised in this process were carefully turned inwards: it was deemed most inauspicious for any of them to have an outward direction. The *Pomœrium* of Romulus is mapped by Tacitus, the historian, in the following manner:—It commenced at the Forum Boarium, or cattle market (at the arch of Septimius Severus), near the Temple of Janus, and continued its course through the Valley of the Circus, so as to include the Ara Maxima; then from the Septizonium to the baths of Trajan (called the *Curia Veteres*); from thence to the summit of Mount Velia, and the Shrine of the Lares, and from thence finally to the Forum, by the Via Sacra.

The original *Pomœrium* included not only the Palatine Hill, but a considerable portion of the ground lying beneath it, of which that part lying next the Aventine, and where the Circus Maximus was subsequently built, was, in common with all the lower localities of the ancient city, covered with shallow water. The preservation of the *Pomœrium* in its original compass was secured by tradition and sacred auguries. Nor was it until the time of Sylla, A.U.C., 674, that the inhabitants of Rome ventured to extend their primeval boundaries. Thirty-six years later, it was again altered by Julius Cæsar, one of the most determined innovators of antiquity, and subsequently by Augustus, A.U.C., 746. By the *Lex Regia*, Vespasian was also empowered to extend the *Pomœrium*, which is, perhaps, the latest testimony upon this subject which we possess. The amount of these extensions is uncertain, as the observation of Tacitus relates solely to the *Pomœrium* of Romulus.

The original *Septimontium*, or Seven Hills of Rome, were very different from those which bore that name in

after times. They were the Palatium, Veline, Cermalus, Cœlius, Fagutal, Oppius, and Cispius ; of these, three only—the Cœlian, Palatine, and that called the Esquiline, consisting of the junction of the Oppius and Cispius—were included in the original city. The Capitolum, Viminal, Quirinal, and Aventine, were additions of more modern periods.

The original territory of Rome is thought not to have extended beyond the Tiber, or even the Anio. In such case, it must have been readily perambulated in a day, and the jealousy of the surrounding states caused them to watch narrowly any encroachment upon their frontiers. It did not reach beyond five or six miles in the direction of the south or east, and all the land included within these limits was exclusively the property of the noble families of Rome.

All the historical knowledge of the foundation of Rome which we can now arrive at may be thus briefly stated :—"That a tribe of Latin origin, in some manner connected with Alba, settled on the Palatine hills, and, in process of time, united itself, by the right of intermarriage, and other ties, with a band of Sabine warriors who had taken up their abode on the Quirinal and Capitoline hills. These two towns admitted into fellowship with themselves a third community, established on the Cœlian and Esquiline hills, which seems to have consisted of Pelasgians, either from the Solonian Plain, lying between Rome and Lavinium, or from the opposite side of the river, near Cœre; and the whole body became one city, governed by a king, or *magister populi*, and a senate, as the representative of the three original elements of the state." The above quotation, abridged from Donaldson, is excellent as a general summary ; but we should remember that these fusions of the principal constituent parts of Rome were extremely slow. That, in its original form, Rome was a double city, of partly Latin and partly Sabine origin, there is no room to doubt. The legend of the *twins*, the temple of the double Janus, the partition of empire between Romulus and Tatius, together with many other features of the

mythical narrative, point, not only to the circumstance of two distinct tribes, but also to the existence of bitter hostility. Similar instances of adverse races living within the same walls, may be readily found in the history of the Moorish dynasties in Spain, and even in the annals of Ireland, where we continually meet with the circumstance of one portion of a city being occupied by aboriginal Celts, and the other by Danish or Anglo-Norman settlers, between whom and the natives a warfare of centuries was maintained.

The name of Rome's original twin sister has long been lost to the world ; the researches of scholars have bestowed upon it the conjectural terms of Remuria, Quirium, and Leucerum ; to the second I am disposed to incline ; for the first, we have no further authority than the name which tradition has bestowed upon the brother of Romulus ; and the last belongs properly to a subsequent period, when the Pelasgian Leuceres, under their leader, Cœles Vibenna, settled on the Cælian and Esquiline hills. The title of Quirites, or *citizens of Quirium*, by which the Romans are designated (especially in harangues addressed to the populace), has been variously derived from "*quiris*," a spear, and *Cures*, the ancient capital of the Sabine race. Quirinus was, in all probability, nothing more than the name by which Romulus was known amongst the inhabitants of the Sabine city, as Servius Tullius was also called Mastarna.

The rape of the Sabines was only a fanciful method of intimating that there was originally no *ius connubii*, or right of intermarriage, between the two cities of Rome and Quirium ; a circumstance easily accounted for by the difference of race. It is also easy to suppose that one portion of the community took up arms to obtain a share in those privileges which were monopolized by the other, and that the result of their success was a full acknowledgment of their independence and civil equality. This is also implied in the legend of the partition of empire between Romulus and Titus Tatius, the Sabine monarch.

The number of the original Roman tribes, as first

instituted, during the joint dynasty of Romulus and Tatius, was said to have been thirty, and the legend affirms that this division was made to correspond with the number of Sabine women carried off by the Roman youth. The great improbability of so small a number of women carried off by the Romans having struck the early historians, they endeavoured to explain it away by supposing that this number included only the noblest of the Sabine matrons and virgins. But we should be nearer the truth in supposing that this number, thirty, was peculiar to the political organization of the Italian states. It has already appeared, in the notice of the Alban tribes, that *three* was always the basis of such distributions. The subordinate divisions varied : thus, Virgil tells us that in Mantua* there were four of these divisions, and they extended as far as ten in Rome. In the latter city, the first distinction seems to have existed between the Latin Rhamnes, dwelling in Roma, and the Sabine Titienses, the inhabitants of Quirium. The derivation of Rhamnes is uncertain ; the origin of Titienses is referred, with much probability, to *titis*, the Sabine term for a soldier. A road lying between the Quirinal and the Palatium, which in after times was well known as the *via sacra*, formed the boundary of the two cities.

When peace had been established between the adverse tribes, a temple to Janus, the ancient Italian god of the sun, was built upon this frontier. In time of external war the portals of this shrine were thrown open that the inhabitants of both cities might co-operate for the common welfare. The danger of foreign conquest once over, the gates of the temple were closed, and all other intercourse was at an end. Even for many a succeeding century, when those distinctions of race

* An ancient city, but of mixed descent,
Three several tribes compose the government ;
Four towns are under each, but all obey
The Mantuan laws, and own the Tuscan sway.

Dryden's Trans.

See also Forbiger's learned note on this subject. *Ænd.* x. v. 201.

had long been forgotten, this custom was invariably preserved. The warlike character of the Roman people, opposed at first in self-defence to the hostility of the surrounding tribes, and in later times absorbed by the thirst of conquest, gave few opportunities for the exercise of the arts of peace; hence the gates of Janus were closed but three times during a period of little more than seven centuries which elapsed between the foundation of Rome and the fall of the commonwealth.*

CHAPTER IV.

Legend of Numa Pompilius, Second King of Rome.—Policy of Numa—he corrects the Calendar—his Death.—History of Numa Pompilius.—Augurs and their Privileges.—Mode of taking the Auguries.—Era of Numa and the Grecian Republics.—Correct Meaning of the terms *Populus* and *Plebs*.—The *Clientela*.

After the death of Romulus, a dire feud soon arose between the senate and the people. The Sabines desired to repossess that share in the monarchy which had been conceded to Tatius. The senate resisted these demands, and assumed the reins of arbitrary government, selecting one hundred persons from their own body and dividing them into sets of ten, called *decuriæ*, they appointed one senator to preside over each *decuria*, who governed alternately every five days, clothed with all the insignia and prerogative of royalty. These new governors were called *Interreges*; their office was annual. But the populace becoming dissatisfied with the multiplicity of their rulers, demanded that the sovereign

* 1st, in the reign of Numa; 2nd, by the Consul Manlius, after the conclusion of the first Punic war, A.U.C., 513; 3rd, after the battle of Actium, A.U.C., 723.

It was also closed by Augustus, A.U.C., 750, at the birth of Christ; an involuntary tribute to the advent of the Messiah, the "Prince of Peace."

powers of the state should be vested in one prince, elected by themselves. The senators, fearing to oppose the current of popular opinion, voluntarily conceded to the commons those usurped rights, which they felt their own inability any longer to withhold. Summoning a full council of their body, they passed a decree that the Roman people should proceed to elect a monarch; that their choice, if worthy the throne of Romulus, should be ratified by the senate. The commons thus flattered by the submission of the patricians, in turn decreed that the power of election should remain at the disposal of the senators.

The jarring interests of the Romans and Sabines were reconciled by the nomination of Numa Pompilius, to whose virtues all parties were willing to yield the highest meed of praise. He was a native of Cures, the capital of the Sabine territory, and fabled to have been instructed by the sage, Pythagoras, in all the sublime secrets of philosophy. The purity of his manners, which shone conspicuous even amid a people famed for virtue and austerity, were known and admired by the surrounding states; and the Romans, far from being jealous at the authority of a stranger, congratulated themselves upon his acceptance of their crown. The auguries having been consulted, and proving favourable, Numa was proclaimed king amid the acclamations of his delighted subjects; his genius and piety were soon developed in the nature of his decrees and institutions.

To wean a warlike people from the hazards of external war and internal feuds, by directing their minds to a great uniform religious worship, seems to have been the predominant object of his legislature; to inspire his subjects with due reverence for his decrees, he declared that he received his knowledge from the nymph Egeria, who nightly, amid the groves of Aricia, explained to him the mysteries of the gods, and the great tenets of morality. He instituted the flamines or priests of Jupiter, the twelve Salii, who worshipped Mars Gradivus in a species of armed dance; the vestal virgins, whose duty it was to keep alive the sacred fire in the temple

of Vesta; the pontiffs, to whose keeping the sacred records were intrusted, and whose authority was supreme upon all subjects connected with religious rites and festivals; sacrifices to the *manes* or shades of the departed were established, and the rites of augury completed and confirmed by the prince.

As a regular division and notation of time was necessary not only to the distribution and solemnization of religious festivals, but also to the due administration of civil government, the corrective genius of Numa was directed to the amendment of the calendar. He divided the year into twelve months, adding January and February to the original ten of Romulus; and finding that a lunar system was inadequate to the full number of days contained in the sun's revolution, he inserted every second year an intercalary month, called Mercedonius, alternately of twenty-two and twenty-three days, in such a manner that every twenty-fourth year the days of each month coincided with their original position.

It was by Numa that the first rights of property were established and protected. Of those lands which, in the agitated times of Romulus, lay open to the entire community, he had portions consecrated to religious purposes; and the worship of the god, Terminus, was instituted to intimate the inviolability of boundaries and the security of lawful possession.

Amid such ennobling labours, the life of Numa was spent in a delightful dream: and when at last that fate, from which even Egeria could not save him, tore their beloved monarch from the homage of the Romans, a reign of forty-three years seemed but too short a sojourn, shrouded as it was in the loyalty and affection of his subjects.

HISTORY OF NUMA POMPILIUS.

The beautiful legend of Numa* claims much attention from the student of Roman history, as relating to those times when the first faint dawn of civilization began to glimmer upon a rude and warlike people. The whole tenor of the lay displays that yearning after peace, and enthusiastic devotion to religious rites; the natural reaction, caused by continued and barbarous warfare upon a people of sudden impulses and excitable temperament. To assign any distinct historical value to this story of Numa would be extremely difficult; although we are fully justified in supposing that the crude and disorganized elements of the then Pagan religion of Rome were reduced to a regular ritual and normal standard, by a prince of *Sabine origin*, during a period B.C., 715 and 673.

The story of Numa having been invited from a distant country, and invested with the Roman crown, is a manifest forgery, evidently emanating from those who were ignorant of the vast proportion of Sabines in the early Roman state, and who never dreamed that the concession of the senators to the people to elect their own king, was a submission on the part of the Oscan Rhamnes to the claims of the Sabine Titienses. From each of these tribes a king was alternately selected;—thus Numa, in all likelihood, was not a citizen of Cures, but of Quirium, on the Quirinal and Capitoline hills; his successor, Tullius Hostilius, was a member of the Rhamnes. Ancus was a Sabine, at whose death Rome became subject to an Etrurian dynasty, under the Tarquins, and the introduction of a new element; the Luceres served in time to obliterate the original distinction.

The fable of Numa having been instructed in philosophy by Pythagoras of Samos, is at utter variance with chronology, as the latter did not flourish until nearly two centuries after the era of the former; nor can we be satisfied with the barren attempt to explain the

* Numa means the lawgiver,—Pompilius or Popilius, one elected from the people.

incongruity by supposing the existence of another person of the same name. An obscure tradition has, indeed, floated down to modern times, that Pythagoras, during the reign of Servius Tullius, taught publicly in the schools of Crotona and Metapontum, in the southern parts of Italy. The circumstance of Numa having paid, as is related, the highest honour to Tacita, amongst the Camenæ,* certainly points to the Pythagorean precept of silence, but amounts to no direct inference of his having been instructed in the philosophy of the Greeks.

The ordinances of Numa with respect to religion, cannot be looked on in the light of innovations, but rather as efforts to establish an organized uniform worship from a heterogeneous mass of conflicting rights and tenets which he found existing on his assumption of the supreme power. In this universal creed, the Sabine element, as the religion of the commonalty, evidently prevailed, and, despite of the Etruscan influence, exercised during the dynasty of the Tarquins, the great features of Roman mythology remained peculiarly Sabine. The decrees of Numa extended equally to the inhabitants of Roma and of Quirium, though their civil constitutions afforded subject for long and sanguinary feuds: thus we find that each tribe had one vestal, two augurs, two pontiffs, and ten *feciales*,—one for each curia. These last-mentioned officers were a species of heralds who decided upon questions connected with international law, while the management of matters relative to private worship was left to the direction of the heads of each family.

The institution of a college of augurs by Numa calls for some explanation of this branch of ancient Roman mythology. The origin of augury is uncertain; some eminent scholars contending for an Etruscan, others for a Sabine derivation of the science. The word *augurium* is supposed to be derived (though even this point is warmly contested) from *avis*, a bird, like the similar terms, *auspicium* and *aucupatio*, as their principal omens were drawn from the flight of the winged tribe.

* Camenæ, the early Latin name given to the muses.

Auguries were divided into five classes: I., those concluded from the appearance of the heavens, such as eclipses, comets, thunder, lightning; II., from birds—of such auguries there were two kinds—*oscines*, or birds from whose notes omens were derived, as the owl, the raven, the jay, &c.;—*præpetes* or *alites*, those birds whose flight was necessary to be observed, as the eagle, vulture, heron, &c.; their number, and the direction of their flight were chiefly attended to; III., from the feeding of chickens called *tripudia*: if the chickens ate their food greedily, the augury was considered good, otherwise the omen was deemed unfavourable; this species of divination was chiefly resorted to on the occasion of military expeditions; IV., from quadrupeds: where the path of a person desiring to conclude an augury was crossed by any four-footed animal; this species of divination might be performed by any private person, and became very popular in Italy; V., finally, auguries were frequently calculated upon the accidents of sneezing, stumbling, fire, &c.

The manner of taking the auguries was: the augur standing upon a particular spot, marked out with the *lituus*, a curved rod of Etruscan origin, that quarter of the heavens in which the omens were expected to appear. This imaginary division or compartment of the heavens was called *templum*, which is supposed to have been the original meaning of the word; he was also supplied with a tent which was called *templum*, or *templum minus*, within which he was bound to watch until the divine will was manifested by some one of the prescribed omens. If the augury was taken within the *Pomœrium* or ancient boundary of the city, no tent was erected, as then the proper place for this mystic seer was the Capitoline, where a permanent place of accommodation was erected, called the *auguraculum*.

Another important part of the Roman science of divination was the examination of the entrails of such beasts as had been sacrificed to the gods. The ministers appointed for this purpose were called *haruspices*, who decided upon their omens from the appearance of their entrails: if the victim stood quietly at the altar,

and died without a struggle, the omen was pronounced favourable, particularly if the entrails proved sound and healthy; but if the first blow was not fatal to the victim, or, on opening the body, some vital organ appeared diseased, the omen was deemed unpropitious. In like manner, when the flesh of the victim was laid on the altar, great attention was paid to the manner in which the fire and smoke arose from the burning sacrifice: if the flame was clear and pyramidal, the gods were considered propitious to the claims or wishes of the suppliant, but adverse, if the altar was obscured with smoke, or the flame scattered and irregular.

The augur generally belonged to the aristocratic order, and was invested with great privileges. If convicted of any crime, he could not be deprived of his office, as he was supposed to be intrusted with the secrets of the empire. A strict adherence to friendship was one of the ordinances of their college; nor would any one be admitted into their number, known to bear an enmity towards a member of their own order. Their dress was peculiar: they wore the *trabea*, a robe striped with purple and scarlet; the head was covered, and distinguished by the pileus, or conical cap; in their hands they bore the *lituus*, or wand of office, already adverted to.

The laws of augury were intricate, and often unintelligible, the common result of mysticism and error. So voluminous were these institutes, that Cicero, in his beautiful dialogue on *old age*, makes Cato the Censor consider an intimate knowledge of this subject as a vast acquisition.

The era of Numa, B.C., 715, coincided with that in which many of the Greek states began to establish regular constitutions, for the most part of a republican character. The monarchical form of government was chiefly supported by the Sabine and Etruscan ingredients of the Roman state; while the Oscans, who resembled the Dorian Heracleidæ in their political institutions, inclined to an aristocratic oligarchy, obnoxious alike to the sovereign and the people. From these circumstances we may explain the legend of Romulus

having been torn to pieces by the senate; the desire of the latter to keep the supreme power in the hands of the *interreges*; the hostility borne to them by the *Etruscan* despot, Tarquin, and the establishment of consular government after his expulsion. The famous title, *the senate and the people of Rome*,* by which the Romans designated their constitution in the times of the commonwealth, has been often erroneously supposed to signify a democratic species of government. But the term *populus* regarded only the patrician order, while the common people, properly speaking, the *plebs*, consisted chiefly of conquered Latins, and were excluded from the honours and privileges of the state; indeed they had but little connexion with it, save by the link of the *Clientela*, or the mutual relation between a patrician and his retainers.

In Rome the relation of a client to his patron descended from father to son; the patron was always a member of some patrician house, and bound to attend to the interests of his client, to explain the laws, and defend him in courts of justice. The duties of the client were more severe: he was obliged to contribute to the dowry of his patron's daughter;—to escort him to the war, and if taken prisoner, to pay his ransom. The patron and client could not appear as witnesses against each other; the patron who committed a crime against his client was outlawed and devoted to the infernal gods.

In the later periods of the republic, when the plebeians, by means of commerce, had risen into wealth and importance, the old relations of the *clientela* gradually declined, until the word was used to signify the correspondence between a legal practitioner and the party seeking his advice, as it is at the present day.

The origin of this strictly feudal institution is lost in the dim vista of antiquity; and Rome appears to have derived it from the surrounding states. Such modifications as it underwent in the latter are not within the province of this work.

* *Senatus populusque Romanus*.

CHAPTER V.

Legend of Tullus Hostilius, Third King of Rome.—The Horatii and Curiatii.—Fate of Mettus.—Destruction of Alba Longa.—Death of Tullus Hostilius.

On the death of Numa a successor to his throne was elected from the Rhamnes. This was Tullus Hostilius, third king of Rome, a prince who soon proved that it was his intention to rival, rather the brilliant military achievements of Romulus, than the peaceful reign of his own immediate predecessor. T. Hostilius seeing that his countrymen were growing effeminate, from a life of repose, the restless monarch sought on all sides for an occasion of war. It happened at the time, that some predatory incursions had been mutually made by the Romans and Albans on each other's territories. Messengers were sent by each to demand restitution. The ambassadors of Alba were received with marked distinction and hospitality by the Roman king, and fearing lest too abrupt a demand for restitution might wear the appearance of rudeness and ingratitude, they delayed for some days before presenting their credentials to Tullus Hostilius. In the mean time, the Roman envoys had demanded restitution at Alba, and had been peremptorily refused. Intelligence of this circumstance having reached Tullus, he immediately called upon the Alban ambassadors to make known their desires, which they accordingly did with as much politeness as they could command. Tullus replied, "that the nation which had been the first to refuse just restitution should hold itself responsible for the carnage of the ensuing war."

Having by this equivocation relieved his mind from all scruples as to the justice of the contest into which he was about to enter, he prepared to oppose an Alban army which had lately crossed his frontiers. When both armies were about to engage in battle, a parley was sounded on the part of the Albans, when Mettus Fuffetius, their general, in an interview

with Tullus Hostilius, induced the Roman monarch to agree that the cause of each nation should be decided by a champion in single combat. It happened at the time that there were in each army three brothers born at a birth, equally matched in regard to age and strength. The Roman brothers were called the Horatii; those of the Alban, the Curiatii. It was decided that these six champions should contend—three on the side of Alba, and three on that of Rome. The combat was long and sanguinary, and fortune seemed for a time to favour the cause of Alba :—two of the Horatii fell lifeless to the earth, but not before they had inflicted grievous wounds on each of the Alban brothers. One of the Horatii now alone remained on the side of Rome, and on him the eager gaze of both armies was directed. To the horror of the Romans, their sole surviving champion turned and fled! The Alban host shouted aloud in triumph; but their exultation was short-lived. The Curiatii, exhausted by their wounds, pursued their adversary in a straggling and irregular manner, while Horatius, suddenly turning on his track, slew the foremost of his pursuers before either of the Curiatii could come to the assistance of their brother; the next was soon despatched, and the last of the Albans, weakened by loss of blood, fell an easy prey before the prowess of the Roman champion.

Horatius was escorted home in triumph by his victorious countrymen. On entering the city gates, the procession was met by his sister, the betrothed spouse of one of the Curiatii; recognising upon her brother's shoulders the cloak of her lover, which she had wrought with her own hands, she welcomed Horatius with a burst of tears and reproaches. The fiery youth, indignant at her want of patriotism, stabbed her to the heart. "So perish," said he, "every Roman lady who dares to mourn for a foe." The newly-earned honours of Horatius could not veil so unnatural a deed from the horror of his countrymen. The king, though anxious to preserve him, was obliged to let justice take its course. Duumvirs were appointed to try Horatius for the homicide; the youth was convicted by their decision, and

sentenced to be scourged and hanged. The lictor was about to execute the decree when Horatius appealed to the people; his aged father also going through the crowd, besought his countrymen not to suffer their champion and deliverer to perish beneath the hands of the public executioner, and leave himself childless;—asserting at the same time, that if he had deemed the act of Horatius a crime, he would himself have punished it in the capacity of a father. The people, affected by the tears of the parent, decreed that the life of the son should be spared; but that as so great a crime required some expiation, Horatius should pass as a captive beneath the yoke,* and a fine be paid into the public treasury. These conditions were accordingly fulfilled, and some expiatory sacrifices adopted, which remained ever after in the Horatian family.

A war having broken out between Rome and Fidena, Tullus Hostilius demanded the assistance of the Alban army, with that of their general, Mettus, according to the terms of their treaty—in obedience to which the Albans arrived; but, during the course of the battle, Mettus drew off his forces and occupied neutral ground, waiting to see what might be the result of the engagement. The Romans became terrified at the desertion of so large a portion of their army, but were re-assured by the address of their monarch, who asserted that he had directed Mettus and the Albans to take the army of Fidena in the flank. The news spread rapidly through both armies, and the Fidenates, struck with a sudden panic, received a signal defeat. Mettus now approached to congratulate Tullus upon his victory. His compliments were received with politeness by the wary monarch, who merely observed, that it was his desire that the Alban and Roman camp should be united for the purpose of a purificatory sacrifice. The Alban

* The yoke, or *jugum*, two upright pieces of timber joined by another placed transversely, somewhat like a gallows; and under which malefactors, and even many taken in war, were compelled to pass, in token that they had forfeited their liberty, and were deserving the last punishment of the law.

soldiers having assembled without arms at the appointed spot, were suddenly surrounded by the Roman legions, and Tullus, after inveighing bitterly against the treachery of the former, declared that the city of Alba should be destroyed, and its inhabitants removed to Rome. The unfortunate Mettus was fastened, by his orders, between two chariots, which, being driven in opposite directions, the body of the Alban general was torn asunder.

The fate of Alba was now decided. Roman legions occupied its streets, who commanded its mourning inhabitants to depart, and relinquish for ever the homes and shrines of their forefathers. The roads leading towards Rome were filled with a weeping train of women and children; while the crash of falling roofs, heard in their rear, warned them that the work of destruction was already begun. So perished the city of Alba Longa, in the fourth century after its foundation by Ascanius. To provide for the accommodation of the exiles, the Mons Cælius was added to the city of Rome, and the heads of the principal Alban families were elected into the Roman senate. A war with the Sabines ensued, who were routed in a sanguinary conflict at the *Silva Malitiosa*.

The subjugation of the Sabines is the last campaign of Tullus Hostilius which has been handed down to posterity, although Dionysius (iii. 34) speaks of a war with the Latin tribes that lasted for five years, and terminated with no particular advantage to either party. The outbreak of a violent pestilence alarmed the Romans. The soothsayers having been consulted, declared that the supernatural powers were offended that their ancient worship at Alba had been consigned to neglect. Sacrifices of expiation were at once instituted, and the fierce Tullus Hostilius, who, during his entire reign, had affected to despise the ceremonies of religion, as beneath the notice of a warrior and a king, now became a prey to the most abject superstition; while his subjects, scared and diminished by the fury of the pestilence, thronged the temples of the gods, and in vain loaded their altars with the choicest offerings. A sacri-

fice irregularly performed proved fatal to the Roman king, who having found in the commentaries of Numa some mention of rites to Elician Jove, he retired into his palace for the purpose of their solemnization; but having neglected some important feature of the conjuration, was struck dead by a flash of lightning, in the thirty-second year of his reign; his body and his palace perished in the flames.

CHAPTER VI.

Legend of Ancus Marcius, Fourth King of Rome.—Declaration of War, Form of.—Erection of the first Bridge over the Tiber, and the first Prison in Rome.—Legends of Ancus Marcius—T. Hostilius—Horatii and Curiatii, examined.

On the death of Tullus Hostilius, the sovereign authority again devolved upon the senate. The people having been assembled in their curiæ, by the interrex, elected Ancus Marcius, a son of Numa's daughter, to be monarch of Rome. Ancus partook in no slight degree of the piety of his grandfather, although not of either his genius or his constancy. Terrified at the fate of Hostilius, which he attributed to his immoderate thirst for conquest, and contempt for the ceremonies of religion, he ordered the *pontifex maximus*, or high priest, to transcribe the laws of Numa relative to ceremonies and sacrifices, and expose them to the public view.

The neighbouring tribes, particularly the Latins, looked with contempt upon a sovereign who was devoting to mere ceremonies that time which his predecessor had given to conquest, and made several predatory incursions upon the Roman territories; restitution for which having been demanded and refused, Ancus consigned the care of the rites of religion to its ministers, and prepared vigorously for war, which was declared in the following manner, on the authority of Livy:—An ambassador, having his head girt with a woollen cord,

approached the confines of the enemy's country, and addressing at the same time the gods and the soil upon which he stood, said,—“I am the public envoy of the Roman people; I come here in a legitimate and righteous manner;—let there be credence to my words.” The demands of the Roman senate were next gone through, after which the herald called the gods to witness “if he illegally demanded either the fore-mentioned persons or properties to be delivered up, that the gods might never grant him a return to his native country.” This formula was repeated, with a few verbal alterations, four times:—once on crossing the enemy's frontier, again, to the first person he met, then on entering the city gates, and lastly, on passing into the forum. A space of thirty-three days was then suffered to elapse, after which period, if restitution was not made, war was declared in the following manner: “Hear, Jupiter, Juno, Quirinus, and all ye gods of heaven, earth, and the infernal shades! I call you to witness that the said people are unjust. Our elders shall consult concerning these matters, in our own country, as to the mode we may best obtain our rights.” The herald now returned to Rome, where the senate was convened by the king with the following formula: “Concerning what matters, controversies, arguments, &c., the accredited agent of the Roman people has negotiated with the accredited agent of the Prisci Latini as to what things were to be given, paid, and performed, which things the said Prisci Latini have not given, paid, and performed.” “Tell me,” said he to the first person whose opinion he asked, “what deem you?”—the senator replied, “I deem that said properties should be sought again by fair and holy combat; and to this opinion I agree, and give my vote.”

If the majority agreed to this, war was declared. The herald carried a staff shod with iron, or smeared with blood, to the enemies' frontiers, and in the presence of not less than three grown up persons, repeated the following form: “Whereas, the tribes and people of the Prisci Latini have acted and erred against the Roman people, the said Roman people have declared war

against the Prisci Latini ; and the Roman senate has resolved, voted, and decreed to the same effect, on which account I and the Roman people declare war against the tribes of the Prisci Latini and the Prisci Latini themselves." He then cast the spear across the frontier, which ceremony concluded the formal declaration of war.

The first campaign of Ancus was eminently successful ; he stormed the Latin towns of Politorium, Tellenæ, and Ficana, and transferring their inhabitants to Rome, assigned them the Aventine hill, as the Cœlian and Capitoline were already respectively occupied by the Alban and Sabine population. Several contests with the Latins ensued ; but a signal victory at Medullia, on the part of the Romans, concluded the war. The Janiculum was added to the city, and fortified, to repel the assaults of Etruria, on the north. A bridge was thrown for the first time over the Tiber, and trenches were drawn round such parts of the city as were most level and exposed. Ancus was also the first by whom a prison was erected to repress the increase of crime ; this was called the Robur Tullianum, or Mamertine prison. The power of Rome was extended as far as the sea-coast, and salt works were established on the mouth of the Tiber.

LEGENDS OF ANCUS AND TULLUS EXAMINED.

The reigns of Tullus Hostilius and Ancus, though decidedly legendary, are still more historical in character than those of their predecessors. Romulus was the supernatural founder of the Roman state,—Numa, its almost supernatural legislator. The divine interposition, we observe, begins to be more rarely displayed, and the circumstances of the narrative appear in a homelier, but more satisfactory dress.

The election of Tullus Hostilius from the tribe of the Rhamnes, as has been already remarked, is a symbol of the alternation of supreme power between the Sabine and Oscan population. The destruction of Alba added largely to the security and resources of Rome, while

the transfer of its inhabitants to the victorious city laid the foundation of the Roman plebs or commonalty, which for so many years contended for equal rights with the dominant patricians.

The possessions of Rome in the time of Tullus Hostilius must have been extremely inconsiderable, as many legends refer to wars with independent tribes inhabiting districts in the immediate vicinity of the city. If we can attach any importance to the story of the fall of Alba, that circumstance must have in no slight degree tended to diminish the hitherto powerful confederacies of the Latin states, for the first successes of Rome against these tribes are dated from that event; while by some historians they are omitted altogether, from which we may infer that the destruction of Alba was considered the most important feature of the war.

The romantic story of the Horatii and Curiatii is supposed with much probability to refer, first, to the identity of race in the two cities; second, to the number of tribes in each. In the same manner we find at a later period, in the story of the war with Porsena, the bridge at the Janiculum defended by three valiant Romans, Horatius, Lartius, and Herminius.

In the reign of Ancus the first effort appears to have been made towards the maintenance of the plebs, independently of the power of the patricians. The Aventine mount was assigned to them;—a concession which could not save Ancus, even in the days of Virgil, from the imputation of factious opposition to the patricians; while the poet Ennius bestows on him the epithet of “the good old king,” such as would be readily conferred by the people upon an early benefactor. When any state was conquered by the Romans, its landed property was divided into three parts, one of which became the property of the Roman state, and was used for the establishment of colonies; another was given back to the original owners, to be held by them in military tenure; while the third was reserved for division amongst the Roman families of patrician rank, the plebeians having no interest therein until the establishment of the agrarian laws, B.C. 377.

CHAPTER VII.

Legend of Tarquinius, Fifth King of Rome—his Election to the Throne—his Public Buildings.—Legend of Servius Tullius, Sixth King of Rome—his Birth and Education.—Death of Tarquinius Priscus.—S. Tullius assumes the kingly power—his division and Census of the people—his two daughters—his melancholy end.

In the reign of Ancus, a stranger named Lucumo, partly of Etruscan, partly Greek extraction, immigrated to Rome ; he was the son of Demaratus, a Corinthian exile, who had settled in Tarquinii, and at his death bequeathed considerable property to his son. The latter married Tanaquil, an Etruscan lady of rank, who, feeling that neither her own high descent nor the riches of her husband had obtained for them in their own country the position which they desired, persuaded him to transfer his fortunes to Rome. On their journey, as they were sitting together in their chariot, an eagle having hovered over the head of Lucumo, snatched from thence his cap, when after fluttering about for some time, the bird replaced the cap where he found it. Tanaquil, skilled like her countrywomen in the auguries of the gods, received the omen with delight, and hailed her husband as the future king of Rome. Lucumo entered the city of his choice ; and having purchased a residence, assumed the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. His wealth, politeness, and munificence, excited the admiration of the Romans, and the curiosity of Ancus, to whom he was quickly introduced, and became the intimate friend and adviser of the Roman king, at whose death he was left guardian of the youthful princes, the sons of Ancus ; this trust was not discharged by Tarquinius with his former magnanimity. As the time for the election of a monarch was now drawing nigh, he took the opportunity of sending the young princes upon a hunting excursion, while he himself commenced an active canvass for the throne of their father. He recalled to the mind of the

people his many services to the state during the reign of Ancus, and claimed the same privileges to their choice which they had extended to Tatius and Numa. His plausible address, united with the recollection of undoubted services, biased his hearers in his favour, and Tarquinius was elected with hardly one dissenting voice.

To strengthen his authority in the senate, Tarquinius Priscus, now the fifth king of Rome, added one hundred members to that body, who were known as the *Patres minorum gentium*, or "*senators of the junior houses*." A war with the Latins was one of his earliest achievements ; in this campaign he stormed the city of Apiola, and applied the spoils to the celebration of Circensian shows. A place was marked out for the regular exhibition of these games, and a certain number of seats assigned for the accommodation of the senators.

It was by Tarquin that the first design was conceived of surrounding Rome with a stone wall, and erecting stalls in the vicinity of the forum for the sale of various merchandise. While engaged in these useful labours, intelligence was brought of a sudden invasion of the Roman territories by the Sabines, who crossed the Anio without opposition, but were quickly defeated by the Roman monarch, and great numbers perished in the same river during their retreat. Previous to this battle, Tarquin considering his cavalry deficient, resolved to add new centuries to those already made by Romulus, and call them by his own name. An augur named Navius, protested against making such an alteration without having first consulted the divine will through the medium of his sacred art. The king, enraged at this opposition to his desires, asked the soothsayer with a sneer, "whether by dint of his divining powers he could tell him if what he was now thinking of was possible or not?" The augur replying in the affirmative, the king returned, "I was thinking of your cutting this whetstone with a knife,—take it then and prove the accuracy of your assertion ;" when, to the amazement of Tarquin, the augur, without hesitation, took the knife, and with it instantly divided

the whetstone.* The college of augurs was ever after triumphant, and no important undertaking of the state was commenced without the ordained formulary.

The territory and city of Collatia was taken from the Sabines during the course of the war, while the Latins, partly through the valour of the Romans, and partly through their own dissensions, lost several of their most important towns. This war closes the military achievements of Tarquinius in the annals of Livy. The Greek historian, Dionysius of Hallicarnassus, has recorded a successful campaign against a confederacy of twelve Etruscan cities, south-west of the Apennines, who being defeated in a general engagement, submitted to Tarquinius, and deposited with him their royal insignia.

Having subdued his enemies in the field, Tarquinius directed his attention anew to those public works which he had left unfinished at the commencement of the war. The city wall was completed, and vast sewers were carried through the city in various directions; a gigantic work which strikes the beholder with astonishment at this day.

LEGEND OF SERVIUS TULLIUS, SIXTH KING OF ROME.

When Corniculum was taken by Tarquinius, a noble matron named Ocrisia was carried captive to Rome and became a servant to the queen; her husband had perished in the siege, and her posthumous infant, born under the roof of the Roman monarch, was well and tenderly reared. One day while the child was sleeping, dazzling rays of light seemed to play about its head. The terrified domestics hurried to quench these visionary flames, but were prevented by Tanaquil, the wife of the king, who forbade them to disturb the infant. When he awoke the mysterious fires vanished. Tanaquil, skilled in the omens of the gods, interpreted this as a sign of future eminence, and told her husband that this child might prove in after times the successor to his

* Goldsmith represents the king himself as having cut the whetstone, but from what authority I have not been able to discover. I have followed the narrative of Livy.

throne. The boy was reared with the king's sons, and received the name of Servius Tullius. On arriving at manhood, he espoused the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus, and soon attained eminence in the government of the state.

In the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the sons of Ancus, who had by his intrigues lost their hereditary kingdom, formed a conspiracy against him, more through a desire of revenge than from any hope of recovering the throne. The plot was executed in the following manner: Two rustics proceeded to the porch of the king's palace as if in a violent quarrel; their clamour having reached the king's ears, he ordered them to be brought before him, and while listening attentively to a noisy explanation from one of the men, the other struck him a violent blow with his axe upon the head. The king fell senseless to the earth; the assassins were arrested; the palace gates were instantly closed, and Tanaquil perceiving the wound to be mortal, exhorted Servius Tullius to use every possible means of securing the kingdom to himself. Tarquin soon after expired. Tanaquil concealed his death for some days, while she assured the populace that, during the king's indisposition, it was his express desire they should submit to the directions of Servius. When the king's death became publicly known, Servius retained the royal authority, although his election to the throne was never ratified by any decree of the people.

To prevent a catastrophe like that which had befallen his predecessor, Servius united his two daughters in marriage with the sons of the last king, Lucius and Aruns Tarquinius; but in so doing, secured to himself a still more deplorable fate. A successful campaign against the Veientes having sufficiently established his authority, Servius proceeded to an undertaking which has made his name illustrious in Roman history.

As Numa had been the founder of the Roman ecclesiastical law, Servius resolved to construct a symmetrical civil constitution from the anomalous regulations of former kings. The population of Rome was by him

divided into six classes, estimated in accordance with their resources. The first contained all those whose property amounted to one hundred thousand *ases* (£320); this class was divided into forty senior and forty junior centuries. The second class contained all those who possessed at least seventy-five thousand *ases* (£240); the third, possessing fifty thousand *ases* (£160); the fourth, twenty-five thousand *ases* (£80); the fifth, those having eleven thousand *ases* (£35.) All falling below the last-mentioned sum were included in the sixth class, and called *capite censi*, or *proletarii*;* these were exempted from tribute, and paid only a poll-tax.

Besides these six classes, five intermediate centuries were also established; two of artizans, who were attached to the first class,—two of musicians, (literally horn-blowers and trumpeters, *cornicines et tubicines*,) who were counted after the fifth. The additional fifth century included slaves and all others exempt from military service. The full number of centuries being thus one hundred and seventy-five, Servius added eighteen to the equestrian order; six of which he obtained by dividing the three original equestrian centuries of Tarquinius Priscus into companies of two hundred knights in each, consisting solely of the patrician rank. Twelve new centuries were instituted, chiefly selected from the wealthy plebeians, who were subdivided in a manner similar to the patricians; the total number of the equestrian centuries thus amounting to three thousand six hundred men. To all these particular arms were assigned by law, and particular conditions of their military services. In general, the higher the soldier's rank the better was the defence of his person.† The purchase money and maintenance of a horse for each of the knights was defrayed out of the public treasury, which expense was supplied by a tax upon widows—an impost which perhaps may not

* Those counted by the head.

† As in the middle ages, the knight or baron was clad from head to foot in steel; while his retainer wore but a leathern jerkin and an iron head-piece.

appear too harsh, if we suppose that it referred to such as had received large legacies from their husbands, besides being exempted from all other kinds of tribute.

Independently of this distribution, Servius constructed a particular organization for the plebeians, by dividing the city into four districts, and the territory, or *ager Romanus*, into twenty-six. These divisions were respectively called *tribus urbanae*, and *tribus rusticae*, forming thirty plebeian tribes who, though deriving their titles from localities inhabited by the patricians, were yet independent of them with regard to their elective franchise. Their meetings (called *comitia tributa*.) referred exclusively to the plebeian order, and were not binding upon the patricians. The population of the city and its resources were examined by a *census* in every period of five years, (termed *lustrum*.) The first census made by Servius estimated the people at eighty thousand, which statement is confined by Fabius Pictor, to those capable of bearing arms. The Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills were added to the city; the last of which localities was made the site of the royal residence; the city was surrounded with a stone wall, and the pomerium extended.

While Servius was thus engaged in establishing the constitution of a city vainly designed to last for ever, a terrible fate was being prepared for him at the hands of his unnatural family. His two daughters, Tullia the elder and Tullia the younger, had been respectively married to Aruns and Lucius Tarquinius. The characters of the princes and of their consorts were strangely at variance; Aruns was mild and forebearing; his wife, Tullia, fierce, restless, and ambitious; while her gentler sister found in Lucius Tarquinius, a proud, selfish, and irascible husband. The unfilial Tullia pined at the protracted reign of her father, and the retiring disposition of Aruns, and finding in Lucius a mate more congenial to her haughty character and ambitious views, she resolved that the existing obstacle should be removed by the assassination of her husband and her sister. Aruns Tarquinius and Tullia the younger having died suddenly and mysteriously, the guilty pair were united, to the great grief

of Servius and his subjects, who justly dreaded the punishment of such impiety.

For some years Lucius Tarquinius hesitated on his career of impiety, and suffered Servius to continue unmolested on his throne. At last, roused by the taunts of his consort, he commenced to tamper with the senate, and to denounce Servius in private, as a plebeian and a usurper. One day, he descends into the forum, surrounded by an armed band of retainers, and mounting the steps of the throne, orders the herald to convene the senate. The fathers, partly influenced by the bribes and partly by the threats of Tarquinius, assembled at his orders, and heard from him a violent harangue in condemnation of Servius and praise of himself.

The aged monarch, roused by a terrified messenger, hurried to the spot, and demanded from his son-in-law an explanation of his conduct, which being ferociously refused, a scuffle ensued, in which Servius, hurled from the steps of the senate-house, fell stunned and bleeding at their base; while a few faithful retainers were endeavouring to convey the unfortunate prince home he was assassinated on the way by the emissaries of the usurper, in the forty-fourth year of his reign. His daughter, Tullia, hurried to the forum to salute her husband as king; but being ordered by him to retire home, she encountered on her way the mangled and bleeding body of her father, lying in the public street: the charioteer, appalled at the sight, reined in his horses, but the inhuman wretch ordered him to drive over the prostrate corpse! in this act, her dress was dappled with the gore of her murdered parent—a mute but terrible testimony of her parricide. The spot was ever after named “the street of crime.” The good king Servius remained for many an age the theme of song and story, while the names of his murderers were coupled with ignominy and detestation.

CHAPTER VIII.

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, Seventh and last King of Rome.—Murders T. Herdonius.—Oppresses the Gabii.—The Sybilline Books.—L. J. Brutus.—Sextus Tarquinius.—Lucretia.—Expulsion of the Tarquins and Abolition of Monarchy.—Legends of Servius Tullius and the Tarquins examined.—Niebuhr and Donaldson, mistakes of.

The crimes of the second Tarquin did not end with parricide. All the members of the senate who were suspected of favouring the party, or even commiserating the fate of Servius, were destined to feel the vengeance of the tyrant and usurper. Many were put to death on false testimony; many were assassinated; and happy were those who, by voluntary exile, escaped with their lives. The coffers of the tyrant were gorged with their wealth, and he beheld the diminution of the senate with complacency, as tending to make his own authority more arbitrary. The vacant places were not filled up; the remainder of the senate, scared by his proscriptions, and trembling for their lives, offered little opposition to his will.

His first care was to form a confederacy with the Latin states, and for this purpose bestowed his daughter in marriage on Octavius Mamilius, a noble of Tusculum. A day was appointed for an interview with the Latin chiefs, at the fountain of Ferentinum. There they waited for a considerable time; sunset was at hand, and Tarquin had not arrived. Turnus Herdonius, a rash but patriotic Latin nobleman, complained bitterly to the assembled chiefs of the insolence of Tarquin, and advised that they should return to their homes. The tyrant arriving shortly after, became aware of the enmity of Turnus; the servant of the latter was bribed to accuse his master of a conspiracy against the life of Tarquin; and some weapons, treacherously buried by his enemies in his tent, having been dug up, the unfortunate Herdonius was condemned to be suffocated in the fountain of Ferentinum.

When Tarquin, by the murder of Herdonius, had insured the submission of the Latin tribes to such measures as he might propose, he proceeded to destroy as far as possible their independence as a separate state, by forming every *manipulus* in the Roman army of both Romans and Latins, thus depriving them of their own chiefs and standards, and compelling them to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome. A war with the Volsci next engaged his attention; Pometia, a considerable town, was taken and plundered;—the spoils were portioned for the purpose of completing the temple to the Capitoline Jove. As several smaller shrines had been erected on this hill, and dedicated to other deities, it was deemed necessary to inquire by augury whether those minor deities should there remain, or abandon this hill and leave it exclusively to the temple of Jove. All the auguries were favourable, save that with regard to Terminus, (the god of boundaries,) a happy omen of the future stability of the temple and the empire. Forty talents of silver, principally obtained from the pillage of Pometia, were to be expended in this work.

A Latin town named Gabii had refused to enter the confederacy with Tarquin; and against it the Roman arms were promptly directed. The king, repulsed by the Gabines in the field, had recourse to stratagem. His son, Sextus Tarquinius, fled to Gabii, and told the inhabitants that he had barely escaped with his life from the cruelty of his father. The bitter hostility which he expressed against Tarquin induced the citizens to appoint Sextus the leader of their troops in the war with Rome, and some successes, designedly thrown in his way by his father, increased their confidence in his sincerity and valour. At last, perceiving the extent of his own authority, Sextus sent a messenger secretly to Tarquin to inquire what next he was to do. The king returned no answer; but, while walking in the garden in the presence of the messenger, amused himself by striking off the heads of the tallest poppies he met in his walk. The messenger having in vain demanded an answer, returned to Gabii, and related the entire circum-

stance to the crafty Sextus, who at once proceeded on various pretexts to imprison or put to death many of the chief citizens. Their confiscated property he divided amongst others; by this means, Gabii was soon after surrendered into the hands of the Romans.

The erection of the temple on the capitol proceeded in the mean time with vigour. Artisans were invited from Etruria—long the seat of science—and heavy taxes imposed upon the people to supply the expenses; the poorer orders were obliged to contribute that manual labour which was necessary for the support of themselves and their families. The great sewers commenced by Tarquinius Priscus were now completed, and colonies were drafted to the frontier towns of Signia and Circeii. The sybilline books were preserved in a cell beneath the capitol. Of these celebrated volumes a strange legend is related. A woman one day stood before the throne of Tarquinius Superbus, (the proud,) and offered to him for sale nine volumes, for which she asked three hundred pieces of gold. This being considered an exorbitant demand for nine old books, she was treated with contempt. She withdrew, and having burned three of the volumes, returned and demanded the same price as she did for the nine; again she was laughed at, and again committed three more of the books to the flames,—returned, and still asked for the remnant the same price as for the entire nine volumes. At this strange proceeding, the king's curiosity was excited, and consulting the augurs, he was blamed by them for not having purchased the books at once, and advised to secure the remainder. The king complied with their directions, and the money having been paid, the woman instantly vanished. The three volumes were filled with prophecies relative to Rome, and were consulted by the priests on all occasions of public danger or difficulty.

A sudden prodigy filled the king's household with terror and consternation. A snake was seen to glide out from beneath one of the pillars of the palace. To avert this omen of misfortune, an embassy was sent to

the famous oracle of Delphi, Titus and Aruns, the king's sons being intrusted with the bearing of the response. Their companion on their journey was one Lucius Junius Brutus, the king's nephew. The latter dreading the enmity of the tyrant, who had already assassinated his brother, feigned idiocy, that he might shelter himself from persecution by contempt. The princes, on learning the will of the gods with reference to the subject of their message, demanded of the oracle, which of them should reign at Rome, when they heard in reply, "that he should be king who first kissed his mother." The youths resolved to keep this oracle a secret from their brother, Sextus, and let the contest for dominion lie between themselves. Brutus put a far different interpretation upon the meaning of the oracle, and pretending to fall, kissed the earth, which was considered in the mythology of his country, the common mother of mankind.

On the return of the two brothers to Rome, a war broke out with the Rutuli, and the city of Ardea was invested by the Romans. During the siege, while Sextus Tarquinius was supping with his cousin, Collatinus, and a party of his friends, a discussion arose as to the beauty and virtue of their respective wives ;—Collatinus extolled the merit of his own Lucretia, challenging his companions to ride instantly to Rome and from thence to Collatia, and judge accordingly. The fiery youths, heated with wine, immediately took horse, and arriving at Rome, found their consorts of the house of Tarquin, revelling at luxurious banquets, and manifestly feeling but little concern at the absence of their husbands ; at Collatia they found Lucretia, with frugal simplicity spinning amongst her maids. The superiority of her virtue was evident, but her beauty excited the evil passions of Sextus Tarquinius.

The triumphant Collatinus and his companions returned to the camp of Ardea. In a few days afterwards Sextus privately set out for Collatia, where he was received with hospitality by Lucretia, as the friend and kinsman of her husband. In the dead of the night,

the villain, armed with a drawn sword, approached her bed-side, and by threatening to kill one of the slaves, and lay him by her side, the fear of shame prevailed over the terrified Lucretia, and the brutal Sextus departed at day-break from the house of his victim.

Lucretia despatched a messenger to Rome, to her father, Lucretius, and her husband, Collatinus, begging of them to come to Collatia as quickly as possible. They arrived, attended by Publius Valerius Publicola, and Lucius Junius Brutus. Lucretia, dissolved in tears, and in the agony of wounded honour, acquainted them with her sad story, and called them to take vengeance upon the tyrant and his sons. They promised willingly; and when they were endeavouring to pacify her sorrows, Lucretia suddenly plunged a dagger in her bosom and fell lifeless to the earth.

Amid the cries and horror of her friends, Lucius Brutus casts off the mask of idiocy, and drawing the poignard from the corpse, swears by the blood of the chaste Lucretia to pursue the impious race of Tarquin with fire and sword; then, handing the blood-stained weapon to Lucretius and Collatinus, he bears the body to the market-place, proclaims the iniquity of Sextus, and calls the people to liberty. Their dormant spirit of freedom and hatred of the tyrant is aroused; a numerous band of volunteers, headed by Brutus and Valerius, march to Rome. There too the bleeding remains of Lucretia rouse the indignation of the Roman people, long murmuring beneath oppressive labour and taxation. The murder of the aged Servius, and all the cruelties of the second Tarquin pass rapidly in review before their eyes; and ere sunset, the Tarquins are exiles, and Rome is in a complete state of revolution.

At the first intelligence of the insurrection, Tarquin set out from Ardea to Rome, but found the gates of the city closed, while the army which he had just left, declared against him, at the instigation of Brutus. Tarquin finding his cause hopeless, retired with two of his sons to Cære, in Etruria, while Sextus, who returned

to Gabii, was there assassinated by the relations of some of those persons whom he had so treacherously put to death a few years before.

Thus terminated the dynasty of the Tarquins with the reign of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, who ruled the Roman people for twenty-five years. The Roman monarchy expired in the year B.C., 510.

LEGENDS OF SERVIUS TULLIUS AND THE TARQUINS
EXAMINED.

The banishment of Tarquinius Superbus and the abolition of the monarchy, may be said in general terms to conclude the legendary history of Rome; from that period her annals begin to assume a more distinct historical character, though from time to time many of the narratives recorded in them are purely poetical.

In all legends relative to the first Tarquin, (Tarquinius Priscus,) he is described as an Etruscan. Niebuhr thinks he has discovered in the name of Priscus, and an anachronism with regard to Demaratus of Corinth,* strong reason for supposing that Tarquin was not of Etruscan, but Latin origin, and lays particular stress upon a legend in which his wife is named Caia Cœcilia, instead of Tanaquil; still this distinguished scholar is compelled to admit the fact of Rome having been at one period subjected to the power of the Etruscans. The same reason which would induce us to accept the Latin name of Caia Cœcilia, instead of the Etruscan title of Tanaquil, would also justify us in choosing the Tuscan names, Mastarna instead of the Latin, Servius Tullius; and if we deny the Tarquins to have been an Etruscan dynasty, it would be impossible to explain the attempt of Porsenna, king of Etruria, to reinstate them in the sovereignty of Rome. The designation of Lucumo, by which Tarquinius is described prior to his emigration to Rome, is objected to by Niebuhr, as not being a

* On the usurpation of the sovereign power of Corinth by Cypselus, Demaratus emigrated with his family to Italy. He was father of Lucumon, king of Rome, under the name of Tarquinius Priscus.

proper name, but a *title*, indicative of personal rank ; yet, it is by no means improbable that the Romans, who were totally ignorant of the Etruscan language, might have been the originators of this error, in the same manner as many ludicrous mistakes have been made by foreigners in their translations of English works; yet from which we would not be justified in doubting the authority of the originals. The error of synchronizing Demaratus, the father of Tarquinius Priscus, with Cypselus, Tyrant of Corinth, who must have flourished at least fifty years before, is of the same class with the story of Pythagoras and Numa, as the expulsion of the Bacchiadæ from that city, was the most tangible point for the comparison of these revolutions. The existence of a powerful Etruscan dynasty at Rome, is evident from the change their mythology underwent, and which manifests an Etruscan character, even in the public works of the city, the vast sewers (cloacæ,) and the remains of the old city walls. Tradition states, that an Etruscan named Cœles Vibenna, with a large body of retainers, had settled on the Cœlian and Esquiline hills, and this community was elevated to the dignity of burgesses of the city, under the title of Leuceres, by the first Tarquinius. Servius Tullius is also stated to have been the friend and faithful follower of this leader, under the title of Mastarna ; yet, even here, the legends vary in a most perplexing manner: the Leuceres being at one time described as Pelasgian serfs, subject to the power of the Oscan Rhamnes,—at another, as the Etruscan conquerors of both Roma and Quirium.

Before I close this branch of the subject, I am compelled to notice some strange opinions advanced by Dr. Donaldson in his "Varronianus," concerning the Leuceres. He asserts that the latter were a portion of the Pelasgian race, and were aborigines : at another time he describes them as inhabitants of Quirium, holding sovereignty over the Oscan Rhamnes—two positions which the character of the foregoing legend render completely incompatible. In fact, the Romans themselves were supremely ignorant in regard to the origin

of their founders ; a circumstance from which we may, perhaps, infer the long separate existence of the two original elements, and that the date of the foundation of Rome was more probably that of their coalition. Virgil, who was a great antiquarian, perhaps alludes to these two cities :—

“Then saw two heaps of ruins, once they stood
Two stately towns on either side the flood.”

Æn. viii.

CHAPTER IX.

The Republic.—The first Consuls—their Office and Duty.—Collatinus Retires from the Consulship.—The Sons of L. J. Brutus, their Conspiracy and, Death.—Battle between the Romans and the Tarquins. Death of Brutus.—Inconsistencies in the story of Brutus.—War with Porsenna.—H. Cocles.—C. Mucius Scævola.—Clœlia, her heroism.—Porsenna retires.

The tyrant, Tarquinius Superbus, having been expelled from Rome, that city abandoned itself to ecstasies of rejoicing ; the manes of Lucretia were avenged, and the people swore with one accord, that they would never permit themselves to be deprived of that liberty which they had so lately acquired. The sovereign power was vested for the future in the persons of two consuls, annually to be elected by the senate, and responsible to their decrees. By the unanimous consent of the fathers and the people, Collatinus and Brutus, the injured husband and his avenger, were elected to, and were the first who filled that office. Their first care was to replenish the diminished ranks of the senate ; for this purpose, one hundred and sixty-four new senators were chosen from the equestrian order, and received the name of *conscript fathers*, a title that afterwards was applied to the entire senate.

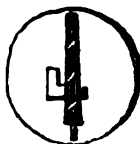
At this memorable period the office of consul was first instituted,—one of the highest and most influential in the Roman state. It is said, upon the authority

of an ancient tradition, that Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome, intended to abolish royalty, and in its stead substitute an officer with all the kingly power, except that he should be responsible to the people for his acts, and whose authority should be for a limited period. Whether such a necessary arrangement for a republican form of government ever entered into the contemplation of Servius cannot, of course, now be ascertained; however, it is certain, that in about twenty years after his death, at the expulsion of the Tarquins, such an office was immediately created; but, the better to restrain any tendency to the abuse of the great power vested in this office, two individuals, as we have seen, were elected to it, who were called consuls, and who were often a check upon each other; their authority was but for one year; neither could act without the full concurrence of his colleague; the decision of one might be reversed by that of the other; and though their power was almost unlimited, yet, at the expiration of their year, their conduct was then liable to the severest scrutiny.

At first the consuls were elected from the patrician order, but in less than a century and a half, the plebeians broke down this restriction to their claims, and consuls from their body were elected to serve in this high office. The power of the consuls was nearly absolute; they were the heads both of the civil and military departments of the state; they presided over the senate; could call together or prorogue that assembly at their pleasure; to them was assigned the duty of carrying into execution the decisions of the senate. All transactions between foreign states and Rome came through them before they were communicated to the senate, and no ambassador was introduced to the conscript fathers but by the consuls. They likewise presided over the assembly of the people, put their decrees to the vote, and carried them into execution. Thus, while they were vested with the supreme power of the army, they could control the councils of the aristocracy, and influence the votes and elections of the plebeians. The consuls, while in the provinces, were preceded by

twelve lictors, who carried before them the *fasces*, (a bundle of birch or elm rods,) in the centre* of which was placed an axe; but in Rome they were not allowed to carry the axe, as there their power of personal chastisement extended no further than the flogging of a criminal, and not to decapitation, of which the axe was a symbol. While in Rome, each consul administered justice every alternate month; the month in which a consul was not on duty, the lictors *followed* him, but without the *fasces*, indicating that he was then no more than a private citizen. Originally there were two consuls appointed for the year, neither of whose age should exceed forty-three years; nor could any person be legally entitled to the consulate for two successive years; but all these regulations were frequently violated, especially in the disturbed times of Cinna the dictator, Marius, Julius Cæsar, Pompey, and Augustus. A consul, once sent out to a province, or for the performance of any public duty, could not return without the permission of the senate. After they had served their year of office, and still held command in a province, they were called pro-consuls; in the public assemblies, they sat upon a chair of ivory, and bore in their hands a sceptre, or wand of the same material, having the image of an eagle on its top, in token of their great authority. So important was this office, that the Romans reckoned their years by the names of the consuls—a practice which continued down to the sixth century of the Christian era; but it was only from its institution to the battle of Actium that the consular power and dignity was of real importance. In the lower empire, it was subject to various modifications, till at length, instead of it being the representative of vast majesty and power, often illustrated by some of the greatest spirits who controlled and disturbed the earth with their ambition, their crimes, and their genius, it

* It is very general in some drawings to see the axe placed at the top end of the *fasces*; this is a popular error. The axe was placed in the *side* of the *fasces* as may be seen on several consular coins, thus.



has degenerated into the humble office of a mere mercantile agent for some foreign state.

Democratic favour is as dangerous as it is fleeting : Collatinus, late the idol of his countrymen, soon became an object of distrust and suspicion to that people who had obtained their freedom through the wrongs he had endured. The accident of being the relative of the late king, obscured in the eyes of the uncertain multitude all the services of Collatinus ; who therefore being called on to resign his consulship, retired to the city of Lavinium, where he died. P. Valerius was chosen his successor.

A most memorable conspiracy, and one of a formidable character, was now making rapid progress in Rome. Some young men of rank, who had been the companions of the expelled princes, became disgusted with the new form of government, under which they had less opportunities for the gratification of their luxurious pursuits. The brothers, Vitellii and Aquillii, who were related by marriage to Brutus, were amongst the first originators of the plot, and induced even the sons of the consul to participate in their design. Ambassadors having been sent by the Tarquins to Rome, in order to demand restitution of their private property, the conspirators seized the opportunity of consulting with them about the means of introducing the Tarquins by night into the city. The ambassadors protracted their sojourn in the capital until the senate had decided on the restitution of the royal property. They met by night, at the house of one of the conspirators, and supposing themselves unobserved, conversed freely concerning their design, and demanded of the youths such letters as they could present to the Tarquins, in proof of their sincerity. A slave who was concealed in the house overheard their discourse, and communicated it immediately to the consuls, who applauded him for his intelligence, but took no measures thereon until they received information that the letters had been delivered, and then suddenly arrested the conspirators and their accomplices.

The ambassadors were set at liberty, but all those

Romans who had taken part in the conspiracy were condemned to be scourged and beheaded. The execution of this melancholy duty devolved upon Brutus, who was doomed to behold his own unfortunate sons expire beneath the hands of the public executioner; yet looked without emotion upon a spectacle which melted his countrymen into tears. The slave received his freedom, and a reward from the public treasury. All truce between Tarquin and the Romans was now at an end; the senate revoked their decree with regard to the restitution of the tyrant's property, and delivered it over to be pillaged by the populace. His landed estates were divided amongst the plebeians in lots of seven acres, a measure which firmly united the commoners to the cause of the republic.

The Tarquins meanwhile were busily engaged in canvassing the principal cities of Etruria, especially the towns of Veii and Tarquinii, alleging their own affinity with the Etruscan race, and the ties of kindred. Nor did they ask in vain; two armies—one from each city, advanced against Rome. Brutus, with Publius Valerius, who had succeeded Collatinus in the consulship, immediately prepared to meet them. Both parties came up at the forest of Arsia. Brutus advanced at the head of the cavalry, Valerius commanded the ranks of the infantry; the former was recognised by Aruns, one of the expelled princes, who immediately put spurs to his horse and galloped to the attack. Brutus rushed to meet him; so violent was the shock that both generals fell lifeless from their steeds. The battle between the two armies was protracted till sunset without any decisive advantage to either side. At last, after nightfall, the Veientes and Tarquinians abandoned the field to the Romans who returned home in triumph. The funeral of Brutus was celebrated with all the pomp which that frugal period could afford, and the Roman matrons mourned for him an entire year.

Before finally parting with so memorable a personage as L. J. Brutus, the founder of Roman liberty, the inquiring reader wishes to know why Collatinus, who suffered the deepest possible wrong from the Tarquins,

was compelled to resign his consulship in consequence of his connexion with the exiled family; while Brutus, *who urged that resignation*, was himself the nephew of the late king, and yet was allowed to retain his office! It also appears strange that Brutus, a young man when he accompanied the sons of Tarquin to consult the oracle of Delphos, yet, in about two years afterwards, had sons old enough to enter into a conspiracy against the state. These, with other inconsistencies in the story of L. J. Brutus, cast quite a mythic air over his real history:—perhaps for the better, as several of the acts attributed to him may be merely legendary, and thus serve to redeem his character from insincerity towards Collatinus, and from that charge of savage severity to his own children, which still stains his memory.

As P. Valerius delayed for some time before electing a colleague in the place of Brutus, the jealousy of the populace ascribed his hesitation to an attempt to obtain the sovereign power. A fortified palace which he was then building on Mount Velia was also looked upon with general suspicion; but Valerius seeing the storm which was at hand, ordered the work to be discontinued, and commenced a system of legislation which at once placed him beyond the suspicion of ambitious designs. He introduced a law, devoting to the infernal gods the persons and property of all those who should dare to aspire to the throne, and the right of appeal from the decree of a magistrate to that of the people, which was also effected by Valerius, raised him to no little favour with the populace, and from whence he was afterwards called *Publicola*. He next proceeded to elect, in place of Brutus, the aged S. Lucretius, the father-in-law of Collatinus, but who died in a few days after; the latter was succeeded by M. Horatius Pulvillus, by whom the temple to Jupiter Capitolinus was dedicated, much to the chagrin of Valerius and his friends. The latter, to divert the attention of Horatius from the sacred duty which he was performing, sent a message to him, while he was in the very act of dedication, that his son had died. The consul, either disbelieving the story or fearful of neglecting the important rites of dedica-

tion, merely gave directions that the body should be carried out to burial, and continued his prayers.

The Tarquius, after the indecisive battle at the forest of Arsia, retired to the court of Porsenna, king of Clusium, in Etruria, and induced that monarch to undertake a war against Rome. At this intelligence, the senate and people were struck with consternation, and the fathers resolved, by lightening the burthens of the latter, to join their interest more firmly with their own. Many obnoxious imposts were abolished, especially the tax on salt and harbour duties. The patricians vied with each other in urbanity and generosity towards their plebeian countrymen. On the approach of the enemy, the Romans abandoned the suburbs and fled into the city. The Etruscans immediately occupied the Janicular hill, and would have carried the wooden bridge across the Tiber, but for the valour of a single champion, Horatius Cocles, who having in vain endeavoured to rally his flying countrymen, advanced to the extremity of the bridge, and there, single-handed, sustained the entire onset of the enemy. Two valiant companions, Spurius Lartius and Titus Herminius, rushed to his aid, while the Romans broke down the bridge behind. The crash of the falling beams, and the shouts of their countrymen, warned Lartius and Herminius to retire before all communication was totally cut off; but Horatius scorned this advice, and alone continued the combat with the Etruscans; at last, overpowered by numbers, he cast himself, armed as he was, into the Tiber, and swam uninjured to the opposite shore. His courage was rewarded by a grant from the public treasury, and in the simple gratitude of the times, was allowed as much ground as he could plough round in a day.

Porsenna, despairing of success in an attack upon a city defended with such valour, converted the siege into a blockade,—a measure which soon reduced the inhabitants to great extremities. A noble youth named Caius Mucius, resolved by one bold effort to free his country from the dangers of foreign conquest. Having first obtained the permission of the senate, he disguised

himself as an Etruscan, and so entered the camp of Porsenna. It chanced that the king was that day distributing their pay to the soldiers, while his secretary, splendidly attired, sat at his side. Mucius, unacquainted with the king's person, and fearing to make any inquiries, lest his ignorance or his dialect should betray him, seized an opportunity to stab the secretary to the heart. It was with difficulty the astonished guards had presence of mind to arrest him. Being brought before the king's tribunal, he replied to his inquiries as follows:—"I am a citizen of Rome, my name is Caius Mucius; I desired to free my country from an enemy; I came hither prepared to slay you; I am not less prepared to die.—Such is the spirit of my country. I have failed, but there are many more whose trial is yet to come. Be ready, then;—every day, every hour, you must struggle for your life. The contest shall be with you *alone*, with us, one by one." The king, excited with wrath and terror, gave directions that he should be tortured by fire until he fully disclosed the particulars of this conspiracy to which he alluded; but the valiant youth placed his right hand upon a fire of burning charcoal which stood near, and suffered it to consume with such utter indifference to pain, that the amazed Porsenna ordered him to be removed. "Depart," he cried; "O, Roman! you have proved a greater enemy to yourself than to me, depart in safety." Mucius replied, "I will grant to your generosity that request which I denied to your tortures and your threats. Know then, Porsenna, that three hundred Roman youths have sworn to deprive you of life; on me has the first lot fallen; the others shall assail you in their turn."

The king, admiring the invincible courage of the Roman, and scared by the prospect of so terrible an ordeal, sent ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace. His terms were, the restitution of their landed property to the Veientes, and hostages from the noblest families in Rome. The restoration of the Tarquins was one of the clauses of the treaty; but this demand was not insisted on. Mucius received a grant from the senate

of land on the Etruscan side of the Tiber; he was ever after known by the name of Mucius Sœvola, (the left handed,) he having rendered his right hand useless by burning it before Porsenna.

The Roman maidens were resolved not to be surpassed in heroism by the men. Clœlia, a noble virgin, and one of the hostages given to Porsenna, effected her escape across the Tiber, together with a band of her own sex, amid a shower of darts from the enemy. Porsenna, astonished at her courage, demanded her immediate restitution, under pain of annulling the treaty; but promised at the same time, that she should receive no punishment for her daring enterprise. When brought before his presence, he ordered her instant liberation, at the same time giving her the right to select as many from amongst the hostages as she pleased. The modest Clœlia chose such as were of tender age; and on her return to Rome, a statue was erected in commemoration of the event.

THE WAR WITH PORSENNA EXAMINED.

Such is the poetical narrative of the war with Porsenna, chiefly fabricated by the vanity of the Romans, who at all times were most unwilling to perpetuate the memory of their own defeats. There is, however, but little doubt that the city of Rome was *actually* taken by Porsenna, although it is not so certain with regard to the conditions which he may have imposed upon it. The truthful Tacitus admits the fact, and speaks of the *actual* surrender of the city, and even darkly hints at some severities which it underwent, (Hist. iii, 72.) By comparing it with the capture by the Gauls, Pliny has left the important testimony, that by the conditions of the treaty, (or rather the capitulation,) the Romans were forbidden to use iron, except for agricultural purposes. A severe and degrading condition, implying the surrender of all their arms; and but little in unison with the brilliant narrative of the prowess of Cocles,—the fortitude of Sœvola,—the amiable heroism of Clœlia,—and the generosity of the Etruscan king. A tradition

was also preserved at Rome, that Porsenna left his camp filled with provisions to be distributed amongst the needy Romans, and that it was accordingly sold by public auction. Livy has observed, that the old formula by which this was done seemed inconsistent with a peaceful departure of the Etruscan conqueror from the city.

It is also a remarkable fact, that in the year, B.C., 495, we find but twenty-one tribes out of the thirty instituted by Servius Tullius. The territories of these nine lost tribes would appear to have lain on the Etruscan side of the Tiber; and it is by no means rash to conjecture that the cession of all these lands, was one of the conditions imposed by Porsenna, who probably occupied the Janiculum with his garrison for some years. It was the well-known custom of the Romans, both previously and subsequently to the war with Porsenna, to deprive a conquered city of at least one-third of its lands, while the restoration of the Veientine territories, together with the presentation of an ivory chair to Porsenna, all point to a decided submission on the part of the Romans, and a recognition of the sovereignty of the Etruscan monarch. Niebuhr has remarked, that even as late as the times of the Decemvirs, the Romans had not recovered their Etruscan territory. In the annals of Dionysius, relative to the period of the war with Porsenna, we find the population of the Roman territory reduced from one hundred and fifty thousand to one hundred and ten thousand, within the space of fifteen years—a decrease which cannot be accounted for by any recorded plague or famine, and must therefore be regarded as the consequences of the conquest; forty thousand being nearly the third of the average population of the Roman territory.

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CHAPTER X.

The Etruscans defeated—well received at Rome.—Porsenna discards the Tarquins.—First of the Claudian Family.—A. Postumius, first Dictator—his duties and power.—The Master of Horse.—Battle at Lake Regillus considered.

On withdrawing from the Roman territory, then extremely small, Porsenna resolved that it should not appear he had marched so far to no purpose, accordingly he despatched his son, Aruns, to besiege Aricia, but the inhabitants of that city, aided by the natives of Cumæ, engaged the Etruscans so bravely that they obtained a signal victory. The routed army dispersed in all directions; a large number of whom fled to Rome, where they were treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality by a city which they had so lately and so fiercely besieged. Affection and gratitude induced many to remain, to whom a portion of

Rome called the Tuscan street, was assigned by the senate, a locality chiefly inhabited by such of the Etruscans as were either too poor to go elsewhere, or too much attached to Rome to leave it.

Porsenna, on his return to Clusium sent ambassadors to the Romans to treat with them concerning the return of the Tarquins, more through form than expectation that they would comply with his request. The senate returned a firm but respectful reply, and Porsenna, either through motives of prudence or generosity, deeming an alliance with Rome would be of more material service to the Etruscans than the party of the exiled tyrant, sent back the Roman hostages who had been delivered to him at the capitulation of the city, while he requested the Tarquins to find some other sojourn. His desires were complied with; the Tarquins retired to Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, who married a daughter of the last of the Tarquins, and the renowned name of Porsenna disappears from the page of Roman history.

About the year, B.C., 503, the foundation was laid of one of the oldest families in Rome. Atta Clausus, a noble Sabine, was expelled by a sedition from his native country; he fled to Rome, attended by a large band of retainers and dependents. The senate conceded to these strangers the city franchise, and assigned them some newly conquered lands beyond the Anio. Their leader changed his name to Appius Claudius, and was the ancestor of many illustrious Romans who were all distinguished for their wealth and power among the aristocracy of Rome. Valerius Publicola died in the same year, and was mourned like his colleague, Brutus, by the Roman matrons.

The Romans still dreading the hostile efforts of the Tarquins, and the intrigues of faction at home, appointed a dictator or magistrate without appeal, from amongst those who had been previously consuls. There is much uncertainty as to the person who first illustrated that high office; some assert that it was Titus Larcus, but that is an error.

THE DICTATORSHIP.

The dictator was the highest officer known to the Roman constitution, and never sanctioned, but in cases of imminent danger to the state. His principal duties and power may be thus briefly noticed :

This office seems to be inconsistent with that jealous caution which generally marks the measures of a republic. During the period of his office, the dictator was invested with all the authority of the most absolute prince. To him solely was intrusted the power of proclaiming peace or war: he was irresponsible for all his dictatorial acts, even after he resigned or his power had expired. To him the consuls were subordinate, and consequently so were all inferior officers. To such despotic power there were a few frail barriers erected. Originally the dictator was only elected for six months ; he had no power over the public treasury, and could use none of the public money, except such sum as was allocated to him at his creation ; he was not allowed to leave Italy, lest he might, unrestrained, exercise his vast authority in the provinces, and so ultimately endanger the peace of the republic ; he was obliged, unless he had obtained the permission of the people, to travel on foot, at the head of the army, no matter how long or severe was the line of march. When it was considered that the state was in danger, one of the consuls was ordered by a decree of the senate (*senatus consultum*), to nominate a dictator, a nomination which was always done by the consul between midnight and dawn, the auspices being duly observed and when the dictator was fully inaugurated into office. Originally, the patricians only were eligible, but in course of time, the plebeians claimed and succeeded to the dictatorship. When the dictator was nominated, he appointed his master of horse, a magistrate of very considerable power, who, in the absence of his superior officer, was vested with all his authority. In war the master of horse commanded the cavalry, while the dictator took the command of the legions and the infantry. The dictator was preceded by twenty-four

lictors, who carried the *fascēs* and the axe, even in Rome, (which the consuls could not,) in order to show his supreme power over the lives and fortunes of the citizens. The dictatorship of Sulla and J. Cæsar were always considered as illegal usurpations of that great office; and not long after the death of the latter, it was formally abolished by law. Augustus Cæsar was offered it by some of his minions, but that profound statesman was better pleased to be in the possession of power than its name, and declined the office, it having fallen into disgrace by the atrocities of Sulla.

BATTLE OF LAKE REGILLUS.

The suspicions of the Romans respecting the Latin states were now confirmed. They learned with consternation that the Tarquins were again in arms, and had succeeded in exciting Octavius Mamilius with thirty of the Latin tribes to revolt against Rome.

The hostile armies of Rome and Latium met on the shores of the Lake Regillus, in the territory of Tusculum, B.C., 499. The Romans were commanded by their dictator, A. Postumius, and T. Æbutius, his master of the horse. Tarquin and Mamilius commanded the exiles with the confederate Latins. The engagement was long and sanguinary. Æbutius was wounded early in the fray, and Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, while valiantly charging the enemy, fell, covered with wounds. The Romans were beginning to yield, when Herminius restored their drooping spirits; with his own hand he slew Mamilius, the Tusculum general, but was himself killed in the act of stripping the slain. A decisive charge of the Roman cavalry at last routed the Latins, who fell back in confusion upon their camp, which was immediately taken by the Romans. It was said, (for this people could do nothing in their public acts without being exaggerated by vanity,) that the news of the victory was carried to Rome by two youths of gigantic stature mounted upon white steeds, and who were supposed to be the mythologic twins, Castor and Pollux. The dictator returned

in triumph to Rome, and Tarquin retired to the court of Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumæ, where he died some years after. No further effort appears to have been made by his family to recover the kingdom, and, with some exceptions, the legendary history of Rome ends with the battle at the Lake Regillus.

Niebuhr has remarked, with his usual discernment, that the account of this battle bears the strong impress of an heroic lay, in which, like Homer's conflicts, many warriors fall by each others hands. The entire generation of the royal period here disappears, and the republic is henceforth guided and peopled by a new race. According to some accounts, Tarquin and his son, Sextus, fell in the battle, which was probably the poetical form of the story. There is, however, historic evidence that he died at Cumæ; that city was essentially Greek in its origin, but had, like Syracuse and Agrigentum, fallen under the control of despotic rulers whose authority being unrecognised by the constitution of their country, continued to plunder the unfortunate people who groaned under them.

CHAPTER XI.

The Plebeians, their Social condition.—The Laws of Debtor and Creditor.—Defeat of the Volsci.—The Volscian and Sabine War.—Secession of the Plebs.—A Famine.—The first Tribune chosen.—C. Marcius Coriolanus leads the Volsci against Rome—breaks up his Camp—his Death.

We should commit a serious error did we consider the plebeians of ancient Rome of the same class as those who are so denominated in our own times,—first, we know that the former are constantly spoken of by the Roman annalists, as persons whose lands remained frequently untilled, and who were often obliged to borrow money from the usurers of the capital; second, Virginius, the father of that Virginia whose story shall

appear in its proper place, was a plebeian, but he was also a centurion, an officer in the Roman army, having the command of one hundred men; third, the plebeians long contended for even the highest honours of the state, and the right of intermarriage into the patrician families. All these particulars show that the former must have been persons of property and well founded pretensions, although not favoured by the law; and such indeed they were, being the unfranchised gentry and landholders of Rome, and were, for the most part, the descendants of those many foreign families who had long settled in Rome, identified themselves with its fame and its power, and with a laudable ambition, desired to share in its honours.

About the year, B.C., 496, arose that contest between the patricians and plebeians which harassed the Roman state for many years, and ultimately proved the cause of its destruction. The latter had long been labouring under the oppressive burthens of war and taxation. While they were compelled to render military service to the state, their lands unavoidably remained untilled. Thus circumstanced, they were obliged to anticipate their resources, and borrow money from usurious lenders, which led them into debt and its concurrent evils.

LAWS OF DEBTOR AND CREDITOR.

The early Roman laws of debtor and creditor were of that severe character which betokens a rude and simple people. Little versed in the technicalities and hazards of a commercial life; therefore less willing to pardon those delays and excuses which the debtor often has only to offer to his impatient creditor. At this period the patricians were the sole possessors of wealth, which the plebeians were compelled to borrow at usurious interest. By the terms of the Roman law, if the debtor was not able to pay either the interest or principal, if called upon, within the space of thirty days, he could be arrested by his creditor and thrown into a dungeon, where he was doomed to hard labour

until he had discharged his undertaking, or death had terminated his captivity. Debtors were divided by the Roman law into two classes—*addicti*, *nexi*, or *nexu vincti*; the first, when thirty days after the debt having been proved before the magistrate, if the money was not paid, the debtor was obliged to surrender himself as bondsman. The *nexi* were those persons who, at the time of borrowing the money, voluntarily surrendered themselves and their property by deed, in case of non-payment, into the hands of the creditor. The condition of an *addictus* was the most severe, for he was not, as in the case of the *nexus*, allowed to discharge the debt by manual labour, but became the perpetual serf and prisoner of his creditor.

In the consulate of Appius Claudius and Publius Servilius, B.C., 495, the plebeians, long murmuring at their burthens, broke out into a tumult of indignation. One day an aged man rushed into the forum, and displayed to the crowd his back lacerated and streaming with gore; his whole person squalid and miserable in the extreme. He was recognised by some of the bystanders as a centurion; and the many scars upon his breast attested his valour in the recent wars. His story was a sad one. In the Latin war, his farm had been pillaged and burned; his military service gave him no opportunity to attend to its cultivation; he had incurred heavy debts, and failing in their payment, had been imprisoned and compelled to labour as a slave. Hundreds confirmed his narrative by recounting their own misfortunes; and the multitude, raised to the highest pitch of frenzy, would have torn to pieces as many of the patricians as they could find, but for the prompt arrival of Appius and Servilius. The former, a man of violent temper, and most averse to all concessions towards the plebeians, advised the prompt exertion of force to suppress the rising insurrection; but his colleague, Servilius, attempted to quell the storm by promises and harangues. To increase, as it were, the general confusion, intelligence was brought that the Volscians had assembled an army and were marching in the direction of Rome. The senate was

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Appius, still looked upon Servilius with supreme contempt. Resolving for the future to rely upon their own exertions, they broke out into open insurrection at any attempt to arrest or detain a debtor. The news of an impending Sabine war did not in the least tend to suppress the discord ; the lictors of the magistrates were repulsed, and when the year had terminated, the consuls retired from office, to the general satisfaction of both the senate and the people.

In the consulate of Virginius and Veturius which succeeded, the senate became seriously alarmed by the intelligence, that the plebeians were beginning to hold secret meetings on the Esquiline and Aventine hills. To suppress these seditious manifestations, it was resolved to hold a levy ; but the names of the Roman citizens were called in vain ; some of those persons who were at the time actually standing in front of the tribunal were summoned, but they made no reply, and when the consul attempted to arrest them, his lictors were repulsed by the crowd. The senate now resolved to elect a dictator, and after some discussion, their choice fell upon Manius Valerius, a descendant of the celebrated Publicola ; the people, although terrified at the power of an irresponsible magistrate, were satisfied with their gratitude to his ancestors, and congratulated themselves that they had escaped from the cruel hands of Appius, on whom the choice of the senate was at one period likely to have fallen.

THE VOLSCIAN AND SABINE WAR.

The Volscian and Sabine war now completely occupied the attention of the Romans. The dictator, Valerius, was eminently successful against the enemy. The city of Velitræ was taken, and the Æqui were defeated by a sudden and unexpected movement of the Roman troops, and Valerius returned home in triumph. A law which he proposed for the relief of the debtors was rejected by the senate ; and Valerius, indignant at this ill-timed obstinacy with regard to the popular claims, resigned his office, declaring that as an insurr-

was also preserved at Rome, that Porsenna left his camp filled with provisions to be distributed amongst the needy Romans, and that it was accordingly sold by public auction. Livy has observed, that the old formula by which this was done seemed inconsistent with a peaceful departure of the Etruscan conqueror from the city.

It is also a remarkable fact, that in the year, B.C., 495, we find but twenty-one tribes out of the thirty instituted by Servius Tullius. The territories of these nine lost tribes would appear to have lain on the Etruscan side of the Tiber; and it is by no means rash to conjecture that the cession of all these lands, was one of the conditions imposed by Porsenna, who probably occupied the Janiculum with his garrison for some years. It was the well-known custom of the Romans, both previously and subsequently to the war with Porsenna, to deprive a conquered city of at least one-third of its lands, while the restoration of the Veientine territories, together with the presentation of an ivory chair to Porsenna, all point to a decided submission on the part of the Romans, and a recognition of the sovereignty of the Etruscan monarch. Niebuhr has remarked, that even as late as the times of the Decemvirs, the Romans had not recovered their Etruscan territory. In the annals of Dionysius, relative to the period of the war with Porsenna, we find the population of the Roman territory reduced from one hundred and fifty thousand to one hundred and ten thousand, within the space of fifteen years—a decrease which cannot be accounted for by any recorded plague or famine, and must therefore be regarded as the consequences of the conquest; forty thousand being nearly the third of the average population of the Roman territory.

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On withdrawing from the Roman territory, then extremely small, Porsenna resolved that it should not appear he had marched so far to no purpose, accordingly he despatched his son, Aruns, to besiege Aricia, but the inhabitants of that city, aided by the natives of Cumæ, engaged the Etruscans so bravely that they obtained a signal victory. The routed army dispersed in all directions; a large number of whom fled to Rome, where they were treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality by a city which they had so lately and so fiercely besieged. Affection and gratitude induced many to remain, to whom a portion of

was also preserved at Rome, that Porsenna left his camp filled with provisions to be distributed amongst the needy Romans, and that it was accordingly sold by public auction. Livy has observed, that the old formula by which this was done seemed inconsistent with a peaceful departure of the Etruscan conqueror from the city.

It is also a remarkable fact, that in the year, B.C., 495, we find but twenty-one tribes out of the thirty instituted by Servius Tullius. The territories of these nine lost tribes would appear to have lain on the Etruscan side of the Tiber; and it is by no means rash to conjecture that the cession of all these lands, was one of the conditions imposed by Porsenna, who probably occupied the Janiculum with his garrison for some years. It was the well-known custom of the Romans, both previously and subsequently to the war with Porsenna, to deprive a conquered city of at least one-third of its lands, while the restoration of the Veientine territories, together with the presentation of an ivory chair to Porsenna, all point to a decided submission on the part of the Romans, and a recognition of the sovereignty of the Etruscan monarch. Niebuhr has remarked, that even as late as the times of the Decemvirs, the Romans had not recovered their Etruscan territory. In the annals of Dionysius, relative to the period of the war with Porsenna, we find the population of the Roman territory reduced from one hundred and fifty thousand to one hundred and ten thousand, within the space of fifteen years—a decrease which cannot be accounted for by any recorded plague or famine, and must therefore be regarded as the consequences of the conquest; forty thousand being nearly the third of the average population of the Roman territory.

The story of Horatius Cocles is also quite fanciful; it is worthy of remark, that the same name should have been chosen for the defender of the city, as that of its champion against the Albans, in the days of Tullus Hostilius. The bridge is also here defended by three valiant men, the representatives of the *Rhamnes*, *Titienesses*, and *Luceres*, while the Annalists, with poetic

licence, omit to inform us how it was that Porsenna could have reduced the city by famine with merely placing a garrison on the Janiculum. Nor have we any distinct account of his having invested the city; it was also utterly impossible for the Romans to have bestowed upon Horatius as much land as he could plough round in a day. It could not have been upon the Etruscan side of the Tiber, which was, as we have seen, totally ceded by the conditions of the treaty; nor yet on the side of the Anio, or Latium, where they did not possess that amount of land at the time. It would have been extremely strange if, with such a precedent, they had only bestowed fifty acres upon Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus, more than two centuries after. Besides, even much smaller donations have been made by the senate in reward for signal services rendered to the state.

CHAPTER X.

The Etruscans defeated—well received at Rome.—Porsenna discards the Tarquins.—First of the Claudian Family.—A. Postumius, first Dictator—his duties and power.—The Master of Horse.—Battle at Lake Regillus considered.

On withdrawing from the Roman territory, then extremely small, Porsenna resolved that it should not appear he had marched so far to no purpose, accordingly he despatched his son, Aruns, to besiege Aricia, but the inhabitants of that city, aided by the natives of Cumæ, engaged the Etruscans so bravely that they obtained a signal victory. The routed army dispersed in all directions; a large number of whom fled to Rome, where they were treated with the greatest kindness and hospitality by a city which they had so lately and so fiercely besieged. Affection and gratitude induced many to remain, to whom a portion of

pacified at the thoughts of now having an opportunity to gratify their vengeance. Marcius at first showed but little concern at his critical position; but soon perceiving the fate which awaited him, at the hands of his enraged countrymen, retired into exile to the Volscian people, where he was received with kindness and hospitality; nor were the latter sorry to perceive in the conversation of their guest, the symptoms of bitter hostility against his native country. A deliberate insult offered by the Romans to a large number of Volscian strangers, whom they commanded to quit the city, on the eve of a magnificent festival to Jupiter, caused a renewal of the war; and Attius Tullius, the host of C. Marcius, and head of the Volscian tribes, induced his guest to command the army against Rome. Marcius accepted the office; his success was rapid and amazing. Ten important towns, amongst which were Lavinium, and Corioli, were taken immediately, and in a short time, the Volscian army was encamped at the Fossa Cluilia, about five miles distant from Rome. The senators in vain attempted to make head against the vindictive and enterprising Marcius. The plebeians were dispirited and averse to war, and the patricians were obliged to send messengers to the Volscian camp to sue for peace. The haughty Marcius hardly deigned them a refusal of their demand, and on their returning to his camp, to renew their entreaties, they were denied admittance.

A solemn procession of the Roman matrons, including Volumnia and Veturia, the wife and mother of Marcius, proceeded to the Volscian camp; their tears and reproaches prevailed over his revenge; breaking up his camp, he retired to the Volscian territory, where he died advanced in years. A poetical narrative relates that he fell a victim to the resentment of the Volsci. His name was long cherished by the Roman people who resisted the tyranny; but extolled alike, the valour and filial devotion of C. Marcius.

CHAPTER XII.

The Agrarian Laws.—Spurius Cassius—his death.—The Fabii—Gn. Genucius—his death.—The Publilian Law.—The Romans beaten by the Volsci.—Appius Claudius decimates his army—is impeached—his death.

Shortly after the siege of Rome by Coriolanus and the Volsci, a law was proposed which for many ages embroiled the plebeians in endless feuds with the patrician order. Spurius Cassius, a consul who had been many times distinguished for his prudence and valour, proposed that a large portion of the *ager publicus*, or land taken from the conquered states, should be sequestered from the patricians or *populus*, and distributed amongst the plebeians, or *plebs*.* His colleague, Proculus Virginius, together with the senate, obstinately resisted this proposal, and so vehement was the indignation of the patricians, that Cassius, on the expiration of his year of office, was impeached for high treason, and attempting to assume sovereign authority. He was tried by his peers and executed, B.C., 485. A story is related that Cassius was tried by his own father, through the privilege bestowed by the law of Romulus, and that his property was confiscated to the state. This tale was probably an invention of the patricians, to throw a veil over this most tyrannical proceeding; posterity was more just to the memory of Cassius, and the charge of treason alleged against him, must be ranked along with the persecution of the Gracchi, by the same patricians, for a similar vindication of popular rights.

THE FABII.

The Romans had for many years experienced the incessant assaults of their indefatigable enemies, the Volsci and Æqui. Many valiant soldiers had fallen in these wars; many large sums had been drawn from the

* See p. 48.

public treasury to resist these aggressions ; the people were wearied and dispirited, and agriculture was neglected by reason of perpetual alarms. At this distressing period, one single family, the Fabii, with unrivalled patriotism, proposed to the senate, to take upon themselves the entire burthen of the war. The conscript fathers were delighted at the proposal, and three hundred and six patricians of the same house, attended by four thousand clients and retainers, set forth upon their march, amid the blessings of their countrymen. For a considerable period they gained many victories over the Etruscans, while their fortified position on the river Cremera, served to keep the enemy at bay. An ambush at last proved fatal to the Fabii ; they were slain to a man, and this noble house would have expired, had not a youth of tender age been left at Rome, who afterwards became consul, B.C., 465.

In the year, B.C., 473, the tribune, Gn. Genucius commenced a prosecution against the consuls, Furius and Manlius, for neglect of the *agrarian laws*. The accused in vain endeavoured to make a favourable impression on the multitude previous to their trial ; but when the day appointed was at hand, and Genucius still delayed to proceed to the forum, messengers were despatched to his house, who discovered that he had been murdered during the night. Consternation now reigned amongst the plebeians. If the inviolability and sacred character of the tribunician office had not protected it from the daggers of the patricians, what were they to expect, who were so exposed to the assaults of open and deliberate injuries. The consuls proceeded to the old experiment of holding a levy ; but in this they were frustrated by the courage of a determined plebeian named Publius Volero, who had served as a non-commissioned officer in the late campaign. When summoned by the consul, Volero refused to attend, and being arrested by the lictor, he appealed to the tribunes. The latter, terrified at the fate of Genucius, hesitated to assist him ; but Volero continued to appeal to the people, although the consuls were giving directions that he should be stripped and scourged. Escaping

suddenly into the surrounding throng, he was still pursued by the consular myrmidons who were beaten and repulsed by the populace. The consuls, feeling their weakness, discontinued their hopeless task of raising a levy; and the plebeians, delighted with the independence of Volero, elected him tribune for the ensuing year. When Volero was installed as tribune, he displayed great magnanimity with regard to the consuls, on whom he did not even pass a word of censure, but devoted himself completely to the plebeian cause. He introduced a measure to the effect that the tribunes should be elected on all future occasions by the *comitia tributa*, or assembly of the tribes, rather than the *comitia centuriata*, where they were more under the influence of patrician authority.

THE PUBLILIAN LAW.

The senate, B.C., 471, fiercely resisted this proposal. The patricians hoped that when Volero's year of office would expire this measure would expire with him; but in this hope they were disappointed. Volero was re-elected for the ensuing year, and in conjunction with his colleague, Caius Lætorius, brought on the act anew, with some important additions. The senators resolving to oppose force by force, elected Appius Claudius consul, the son of that Claudius whose name was detested by the plebeians for his uniform opposition to their claims. His son's disposition partook largely of the same ill-timed severity. Volero had on all occasions refrained from any personal invectives against the consuls or the senate: but the fiery Lætorius could not be thus restrained. He assailed Appius with great vehemence, and declared to the people that he would pass the law on the ensuing day, or perish in the attempt. When the morning arrived, and the tribunes proceeded to the forum, they found it occupied by a band of patrician youths who refused to retire when the people were ordered to give their votes. Appius enraged at an attempt made by the officers of the tribunes to disperse the patricians, sent his lictors to

arrest Lætorius; a furious riot was the result, in which the patricians were driven back, and the capitol occupied by the armed populace. The consul, Quinctius, with great difficulty appeased the plebeians, by promising that the arbitrary power of Appius should be restrained, and that the senate would submit to the wishes of the commoners. The law, *lex publicia*, so called from Publilius Volero, was now passed without any further opposition, and proved of the highest benefit to the plebeian order, who were thus released from the factious intervention of their patrician superiors.

Shortly after the passing of this law, a war broke out with the Volsci. The consul Appius, was deputed by the senate to command the Roman armies. His plebeian soldiers detested their patrician general, who had displayed on so many occasions his bitter hostility to their claims. When drawn out in line of battle, they fled to their camp in disgraceful confusion; the consul was justly indignant at this shameful sacrifice of their country's honour to the prejudice of faction, but was compelled for the present to submit to the clamours of his soldiers who demanded to be withdrawn from the Volscian territory. On the ensuing morning, when the signal for departure was sounded, they had hardly commenced their line of march when they were assailed by the enemy, and driven with terrible carnage across the Volscian frontier. Appius now called the soldiers to an assembly, and having spoken with much acerbity of their disgraceful conduct, condemned the troops to decimation,* having first executed all the centurions and officers who had deserted their ranks; the remainder returned, degraded and dispirited to Rome.

When the consulate of Appius had expired, he was impeached for high treason by the tribunes, Duilius and Sicinius. The haughty patrician scoffed at the preparation for his trial, and could not be induced to comply with the usual custom of canvassing

* This punishment of every tenth soldier was inflicted by the Roman generals on large bodies of troops who had mutinied or otherwise incurred their displeasure.

the votes of his fellow-citizens. What might have been the issue of the trial is now impossible to conjecture, for Appius expired before the appointed day arrived. His faults were forgotten in the memory of his many brilliant military achievements, and the plebeians honoured with a public funeral the remains of this celebrated man, who had been three times consul.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sp. Furius defeated by the Æqui—relieved by T. Quinctius.—The Terentillian law.—Riots in Rome.—Kæso Fabius goes into exile.—Appius Herdonius seizes the capitol—is slain.—L. Minucius defeated at Mount Algidus.—Q. Cincinnatus made dictator—defeats the Æqui—degrades L. Minucius.—Cincinnatus decreed a golden crown.—The story of Cincinnatus considered.

For some years after, the history of Rome presents no more than a dull record of the agitation with regard to the agrarian laws, and the incessant forays of the Volsci and Æqui upon the Roman frontier. In one of these wars the important city of Antium was taken, but was lost in some years after. In the year, B.C., 458, the consul, Sp. Furius, who had marched against the Æqui, not being aware of the numbers of the latter, rashly engaged them with an inferior force; he was routed in the first charge and obliged to retire to his camp, where the enemy in a short time completely surrounded him. Enraged at the position in which he was placed, he made a desperate sally upon the too confident Æqui; but fearing to pursue them too far, lest his camp in the interim might be attacked, he prudently ceased the pursuit; his brother Lucius, his lieutenant-general, was not so cautious: pursuing the enemy too far, his retreat was cut off, and, attempting to fight his way back to the camp, fell covered with wounds. Furius, learning the fate of his brother,

rushed out again from the camp among the thickest of the enemy, where he was soon seriously wounded and carried off the field by his faithful soldiers. This circumstance threw a damp upon the courage of the entire Roman army, who gladly withdrew from the fight, and again shut themselves up in their camp, which the enemy again surrounded, while with brutal jests they triumphantly exhibited the bleeding head of the unfortunate Lucius. In this state, the pro-consul, Titus Quinctius, was despatched to the relief of Furius. The *Æqui* were defeated, and Quinctius brought an immense quantity of booty to Rome. A plague broke out in the ensuing year, of which the two consuls died, together with many other illustrious persons.

In the year, B.C., 462, the tribune Caius Terentillus Arsa, proposed a law for the limitation of the consular power, and to equalize, as much as possible, the liberties of the Roman people without distinction. This proposition met with most violent resistance from the indignant patricians, more especially from the city prefect, Quintus Fabius, who prevailed upon the tribunes to defer the prosecution of their demand, until the return of the consuls Lucretius and Veturius, then absent at the Volscian and *Æquian* wars. On the arrival of the consuls the bill was proposed anew, and gave rise to terrible confusion. The forum was garrisoned by patrician youths, who obstructed the plebeians from giving their votes, and even hunted them from the forum. The principal leader of the patricians upon these occasions was Kæso Fabius, the son of Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, a youth of great strength and activity, who made himself particularly obnoxious to the tribunes and the plebs. A. Virginius, a plebeian tribune, wearied of passive resistance, accused him of high treason, and Kæso, who at first treated the tribunes and their threats with contempt, was arrested on a false charge of homicide, and was with difficulty bailed by his father, on an exorbitant penalty; perceiving but too clearly the destiny which awaited him, he departed into exile, and his father was obliged to sell all his property to discharge the

amount of bail for which he had pledged himself. This limited his resources so much, that for some time he was necessitated to live in a miserable hut on the banks of the Tiber.

APPIUS HERDONIUS.

The city of Rome was thrown into a state of great confusion by an attempt of a band of 4,000 Sabine outlaws, headed by an adventurer named Appius Herdonius, to surprise the city. Seizing on the capitol in the dead of night, they massacred the garrison, and compelled all the slaves whom they met to enlist in their ranks. Never before had such consternation prevailed in Rome. On all sides was heard the cry of "To arms—the foe is in the city!" The consuls and patricians were placed in a terrible dilemma; they feared to distribute arms amongst the plebeians, lest they might be turned against themselves, and yet they were unwilling to refuse them, lest this want of confidence might engender a still more fatal disaffection. Assembling as many of the citizens as they could with safety trust, they placed them as sentinels upon the city walls, and spent the night in deep anxiety for the morrow. At day-break the insurgent leader, Herdonius, called the Roman slaves to liberty; and the terrors of Volsinii might have been anticipated but for the fidelity of the people and the exertions of the consuls. But although the Roman people resisted all efforts made to tamper with their allegiance to the state, they still displayed much apathy with regard to any effort to recover their citadel. The tribunes protested that the seizure of the capitol was but a patrician stratagem to divert the attention of the people from the Terentillian law. "Come," said they, "let us proceed with this enactment, and we will soon find that this band of patricians, clients, and retainers will disperse as quietly as they came." The people, filled with this infatuation, abandoned their arms, and repaired to the assembly, where they were soon interrupted by the consul Valerius. "What mean you,

tribunes?" he exclaimed; "have the professions of Appius Herdonius been more successful with you than with the meanest of your slaves? Is this the time, when a band of outlaws have seized upon your citadel, and pollute the shrine of Jupiter, to repair to the assembly and vote as if in times of peace? To arms, my countrymen! Let us free the threshold of our immortal temple from the footsteps of a foreign horde. Let no factions dare to oppose us. Our capitol must be recovered." His remonstrances and exhortations were in vain; the tribunes forbade the people to depart, and evening closed upon a hopeless scene of anarchy. The consuls, however, exerted themselves throughout the night in representing to the people the perils of their present situation.

When intelligence reached Tusculum of the melancholy aspect of Roman affairs, the dictator, Mamilius, assembled the senate, and advised the immediate levy of troops to be sent to the relief of Rome. Their appearance in sight of the city walls increased the general consternation, as they were supposed to be the army of the Volsci or Æqui. But soon perceiving their mistake, the Tusculans were quickly admitted into the city, and the populace were filled with shame at having been anticipated by strangers in the recovery of their own citadel, and called loudly to be led to the attack. The tribunes in vain endeavoured to restrain them, and a generous rivalry of valour prevailed between the Romans and their allies. The invaders were routed in the first assault, but the gallant consul, Valerius, fell fighting bravely in the porch of the temple. The insurgents, who had lost their leader, Herdonius, in the assault, were put to the sword, and the temple was purified with great solemnity. The Tusculan troops received the public thanks of the Roman senate, and the chivalrous Valerius was honoured with a magnificent funeral. In the year, B.C., 458, the consul, L. Minucius, experienced a severe reverse from the armies of the Æqui in the defiles of Mount Algidus, about twelve miles from Rome. The consul, losing confidence in his resources, retired within his camp, where he was closely

besieged by the enemy. On intelligence of his disastrous position being brought to Rome, the senate immediately appointed Quinctius Cincinnatus, then living in a species of voluntary exile on the Etruscan side of the Tiber, where the messengers of the senate found him engaged in some laborious agricultural occupation. At their request he assumed his gown in respect to a message from the senate, when they immediately hailed him dictator. Learning with surprise that he was now chief magistrate of Rome, and that to him did his native city look for counsel and protection, he obeyed the call of his country. On his arrival in Rome, he was welcomed by a deputation from the senate, attended by an immense crowd of citizens to his own house. The plebeians, although they did not admire a dictator, and least of all Cincinnatus, yet nobly gave up their dissensions and kept watch in the city all that night.

CINCINNATUS.

On the ensuing morning Cincinnatus proclaimed a *justitium*, or suspension of public business. Having appointed L. Tarquinius his master of the horse, he issued an order that all of an age suitable for bearing arms should meet before sunset in the Campus Martius, bringing with them cooked provisions for five days, and twelve stakes to be carried by each soldier, in addition to his ordinary arms. This order, in all particulars, was promptly obeyed, and the Roman army again met their general at the appointed time and place, when he led his troops out in order of battle. Cincinnatus reached the neighbourhood of Algidus in the dead of night, and surrounded the enemy's camp with a line of fortifications. The besieged Romans having learned by a signal of their friends' arrival, rushed out and assailed the Æqui with great valour until break of day, when the latter, perceiving their hopeless position, sued for peace, which the indignant Romans only allowed them on terms of passing under the yoke, to which degrading infliction the Æqui were

obliged to submit, and Cincinnatus returned in triumph to Rome. But before he did so, he would not permit the soldiers of Minucius to any share in the spoils of the camp of the *Æqui*; while he ordered the latter to resign his consulate and serve in the more subordinate rank of lieutenant-general. But it must be acknowledged, that all the glory of this triumph was not solely achieved by the dictator, he having been considerably assisted by the soldiers of Minucius; however, by this act of submission to his superior officer, and respect for discipline, Minucius deserved more glory than had he conquered an army. The senate decreed a golden crown, of one pound weight, to the dictator, who resigned his vast authority on the sixteenth day after he had been elected, and retired to his former obscurity.

The story of Q. Cincinnatus, if stripped of its poetical embellishment, would, perhaps, leave but a very slender nucleus of historical fact. In the original lay, Gracchus *Clœlius*, the general of the *Æqui*, is led in triumph to Rome; a misfortune which had already happened him, nearly twenty years before. Besides, such was the ferocity of the times and this people, that illustrious captives* who once graced the triumphal procession of Roman generals, but rarely escaped the hands of the public executioner. If such an exception was ever extended to Gracchus *Clœlius*, the Roman annalists would not have failed to have mentioned it, being always anxious to extol the honour of their country. There is also some confusion between Quintus Fabius, the father of the exile, *Kæso*, and Quinctius Cincinnatus. This story was a favourite theme of lay and song, and the lovers of the romantic, will doubtless regret that any attempt should be made to invalidate the time-honoured legend of Cincinnatus. Still, whether his story is purely historic, or adorned with the pregnant fancy of antiquity, we cannot admire his harsh treatment of Lucius Minucius, while we must despise his factious tyranny over the amiable and humane S. *Mœlius*.

* Such as Perseus, Jugurtha, and many others.

CHAPTER XIV.

Decemvirs appointed.—The Twelve Tables.—Tyranny of the Decemvirs.—Virginia—her fate.—Second Secession.—The Decemvirs abolished.—The Æqui and Sabines defeated.—The last contest of Rome with the Sabines.

In the year, B.C., 454, the Roman senate, wearied with the importunate complaints of the people against the existing constitution, agreed to the appointment of three ambassadors, who should proceed to Greece and examine into the laws of those federal republics, which had already earned for themselves an imperishable renown. Athens was then at the zenith of her civil and military power. One generation had already elapsed from the defeat of the Persians at Salamis. The laws of Solon during the course of a century had been organized and improved; while the taste and civilization of the Athenians were cultivated by the dramas of Æschylus and Cratinus.* This happy seat of peace and learning may be readily supposed to have excited the envy and admiration of the Roman ambassadors, who are said to have devoted much time to the study of the Athenian constitution. On their return from Greece in the year, B.C., 451, it was agreed that decemvirs should be elected for the purpose of framing a new code of laws. Those magistrates, ten in number, as their name implies, were elected without appeal, or the power of having their judgment reversed by another tribunal.

The decemvirs first elected were Appius Claudius, T. Genucius, Publius Sestius, L. Veturius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, Serv. Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, Titus Romilius, and Sp. Postumius. These magistrates entered upon their office in the year from the building of the

* These two celebrated poets may be considered the founders of dramatic literature in Greece. Æschylus produced many tragedies, of which but seven have reached us; Cratinus composed many comedies, but all save a few fragments have perished.

city (A.U.C.) 302, which was 451 years before our Lord.* Their first care was directed to the revival and arrangement of the Roman laws, which had hitherto remained in a very uncertain state, more particularly that relative to the rights of property. They were assisted in their labours by a learned Greek, Hermodorus of Ephesus, and a short time sufficed to produce a system of legislation, engraved upon ten tables of brass, and erected in the Roman comitium, to receive the comments and emendations of the citizens. With these laws the Romans were satisfied, which were not, as has been erroneously supposed, a complete innovation upon their old system of legislation, but rather an adaptation of the old Italian laws, to the increased civilization and number of the inhabitants of Rome. How far these laws were *modified* by the studies of the ambassadors at Athens and Sparta, it would be now impossible to determine, since many of these institutions which present an appearance of Grecian influence, may have been adopted at a much earlier period from the ancient cities of Doric or Ionian origin in Italy.

To the latest period of Roman greatness, these laws, which were afterwards called the *twelve tables*, by the addition of two more, remained the source of civil and constitutional law, and upon these, as upon a sure foundation, were erected the vast fabrics of the Pandects and Novellæ, in the days of the later Roman emperors. The decemviral legislation was highly approved of by the populace, whose rights were fully recognised by the decemvirs, and every possible opportunity taken to conciliate their favour. It was resolved unanimously that this form of government should be renewed for the ensuing year, and that by the addition of two more tables, the Roman law might be completed and confirmed.

When the time appointed for the election of new decemvirs had arrived, Appius and his companions,

* As the date of the foundation of Rome was, according to the best authorities, 753 years B.C., we can find the exact year before Christ of any event, by subtracting the year A.U.C., from 753, as above.

in an unblushing manner, commenced a canvass for their own re-appointment to the office. The older and wiser senators were startled at this dangerous proceeding ; but such was the popularity which the decemvirs had gained by their enactments of the past year, that even remonstrance became hazardous, and Appius was re-elected, with nine colleagues who were afterwards well known opponents of civil liberty.

On the Ides of May they entered upon their office ; instead of one single decemvir, with his attendants, one hundred and twenty lictors now filled the forum, carrying their axes bound to the rods, a sign of arbitrary authority, which the consul had never dared to assume within the walls of Rome. The Roman people soon found that the insignia of tyranny are seldom assumed in vain, and the decemvirs quickly realized the worst expectations which the terrified citizens began to form. Tribunes and consuls were no longer in existence ; the law of appeal to the people was abolished : if any unfortunate culprit applied to a second decemvir from the injustice of another, he got reason to regret not having abided by the former decision. The city was filled with proscriptions and confiscations, from which, however, the patricians were exempted ; the latter, confident in their own security, felt but little concern for the miseries of the plebeians, whom they considered to have brought a just punishment upon themselves by their intemperate desire of liberty. Two tables were added to the previous ten, and when an entire year had passed away, it became manifest that the decemvirs were determined to render their ill-gotten authority perpetual.

The storm which had been long gathering in the breasts of the Roman people soon broke out with unexpected fury. The *Æqui* and *Sabines* renewed their hostile attacks upon the Roman territory. The decemvirs summoned the senate, and after a stormy debate, in which L. Valerius and M. Horatius openly accused the decemvirs of treason, a levy was decreed, and two armies were sent against the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. The tide of fortune began to turn against the decemvirs ;

their forces were routed in several pitched battles, and their soldiers resolved that no victory should be gained by them to aggrandize the authority of their tyrants. The murder of a brave centurion named L. Siccius, who had ventured to reflect upon the insolence of the decemvirs, raised the minds of the army to the highest indignation which soon displayed itself in revolt on intelligence of a circumstance that had just occurred in Rome.

VIRGINIA.

The beauty of a plebeian maiden, named Virginia, had struck the eye of Appius, who resolved to possess her. Finding that her modesty was proof against all his dishonourable proposals, he gave directions to one of his minions named M. Claudius, to claim her as his slave; his orders were but too faithfully obeyed. While the poor girl was returning from school, under the care of her nurse, she was seized by the emissary of the tyrant, who asserted that she was the daughter of a female slave of his own. In vain the nurse repelled the charge, while Virginia stood trembling before her rude detractor. A crowd soon gathered round the disputants. Virginus, the father of the girl, was well known, and was now absent on military duty. Virginia herself had been betrothed to a young plebeian named Icilius. As the crowd resisted the attempt of Marcus Claudius, he proceeded to the tribunal of Appius, and repeated to him the fable which he had been taught to act, asserting that the girl was not the daughter of Virginus, but merely adopted by him, and reared as his own child. The decemvir decreed that her father should be sent for, and that in the mean time the claimant should retain the girl in custody, engaging to produce her on the day of trial. So violent was the opposition of the multitude, and particularly Icilius, to this most unjust decree, that Appius was obliged to allow Virginia to be set at liberty until her father should return. On retiring from the forum, Appius wrote to his colleagues in the camp not to grant any leave of absence to Virginus; but this message arrived too late; Virginus was already on his way to Rome.

On the ensuing morning, the unhappy father, dressed in deep mourning, descended* to the forum and implored the protection of his countrymen for his beloved child. The decemvir soon appeared, attended by his lictors, and after some pretended investigation of the merits of the case, decreed in favour of the claimant, Marcus Claudius.

The indignant multitude in vain protested by their shouts against the iniquity of this decision ; but the tyrant commanded his lictors to disperse the people and execute his orders. Virginius finding himself thus deserted, begged of Appius to grant him a few moments' conversation with Virginia and her nurse, so that if he should have been mistaken, and find that the maiden was really not his daughter, he might the more easily be reconciled to her loss. His request was granted, when Virginius, suddenly snatching a knife from the butcher's stall which was near where he was standing, plunged it into his daughter's breast. "By this alone," he cried, "my child, can I restore thee to liberty ;" then drawing forth the blood-stained weapon, he pointed it towards the decemvir, exclaiming, "By this do I devote thee, Appius, to the infernal gods!" Appius in vain attempted to arrest him ; his lictors were repulsed by the multitude. When the body of Virginia was exposed to the universal gaze, the fury of the populace could no longer be restrained. The intrepid champions of liberty, Valerius and Horatius, now called on the people to expel the tyrants and restore their long lost freedom ; and Appius, perceiving that the reign of terror had expired, muffled himself in his cloak to prevent his recognition, and retired home unobserved.

SECOND SECESSION.

Virginius in the mean time had returned to the camp on mount Algidus, and had already roused his fellow-soldiers to revolt. With one accord they seized their

* "*Foro descendere*," is a common phrase among the Roman writers.—We say, such a gentleman *went down* to the House of Commons.

arms and set out for Rome, where, being joined by the other army and a large body of plebeians, they declared that the government of the decemvirs no longer existed, and retired to the Mons Sacer, B.C., 449, where they fortified their position, as their fathers had done forty-six years before. The senate, alarmed at this movement, sent ambassadors to treat with them as to their demands, to whom they replied, that they desired to see Valerius and Horatius, the only patricians whom they would trust. On the arrival of these leaders at the plebeian camp, they were received with long and repeated shouts of acclamation; and then the people declared that they required the restoration of the tribunician office and the law of appeal, such as had existed before the usurpation of the decemvirs; besides, a general amnesty to all those persons who were concerned in promoting the secession. As to the decemvirs, they demanded that they should be delivered up to their vengeance, and whom they threatened they would burn alive. Valerius and Horatius resisted the last of these demands. "You must learn to protect your own liberty," said they, "before you think of inflicting punishment upon your adversaries. You need the shield rather than the sword; the senate will take care that crime shall not go unpunished." The people yielded to their advice; and the senate, struck with the moderation of the popular demands, passed a decree that the decemvirs should immediately resign their authority, and that the plebeians should return to their native city. When the news of the fall of the decemvirs arrived at the proletarian camp, the intelligence was received with the most tumultuous joy. They raised their standards instantly and set out for Rome; on their arrival at the city walls, they marched in solemn silence to the Aventine hill, where they elected plebeian tribunes, amongst whom were Virginius, the father of the ill-fated Virginia, and Icilius, her betrothed husband.

The power of the tribunes being thus established, the first care of Virginius was to commence a prosecution against the ex-decemvir, Appius Claudius. From

the peculiar nature of the crime, it was decreed that the accused should be detained in prison until the day of trial. Appius, who in vain appealed to the protection of the tribunes, was thrown into a dungeon, where he perished by his own hand. Thus died, miserably, an illustrious but unprincipled man, who was at once the founder and the violator of the laws of Rome. Oppius, another of the guilty decemvirs, also died in prison, and M. Claudius, the corrupt minion of Appius, saved himself from capital punishment by voluntary exile. Valerius and Horatius, who had been made consuls, principally through the interest of the plebeian order, received the command of the Roman armies against the Æqui and Sabines. After a severe campaign the enemy were completely routed, and the Sabines appear no more upon the face of Roman history for a period of one hundred and fifty years.

The consuls demanded a triumph, but the senate, indignant at their attachment to plebeian interests, refused them this honour. Icilius laid the matter before an assembly of the people, who with one accord decreed a triumph to Horatius and Valerius, which was accordingly celebrated—for the first time in Roman history, without permission of the senate.

CHAPTER XV.

Law of Canuleius.—Censors first appointed—their duty and power.—S. Mælius—his fate.—The Second *spolia opima*.—M. F. Camillus, dictator.—The Alban lake.—Siege and fall of Veii—that transaction considered.—M. F. Camillus impeached and banished.

In the year, B.C., 445, the tribune, C. Canuleius, introduced a bill to legalize the intermarriage of plebeians and patricians, which was at that time strictly forbidden by the provisions of the Roman law.

This proposal roused the aristocratic prejudice of the patrician order, who loudly protested against this in-

fringement upon their privileges, and regarded the proposed law as dishonourable to their rank. Canuleius having in vain represented in glowing eloquence, to the discontented nobles, the justice of the measure, at length resorted to the expedient of forbidding the levies for the public service;—when the senate, thus driven to extremities, gave an unwilling consent to the bill. However, some of the supporters of Canuleius, deeming that he had not gone sufficiently far on the question of reform, proposed, that in all future elections of consuls, one of them should be chosen from the plebeian order; but this amendment was withdrawn for the present, and the Canuleian rogation (law) was carried in its original form:—One of those healing measures which tended to mitigate the asperities that had long existed between two separate communities of the same nation, and within the walls of Rome.

It appears somewhat singular, at least it is not explained by the Roman annalists, that the people, having achieved so large a portion of civil liberty as that just noticed, should in the ensuing year have proposed and carried a law superseding the office of consul, and vesting the supreme power for the future in military tribunes, with consular authority, and who were to be elected indiscriminately from either orders. This new enactment was the more remarkable, as it neither enlarged the claims of the commons, nor abridged the privileges of the patricians. When the election took place, under this new arrangement, the plebeians finding that the patrician influence had prevailed, pleaded some informality in the proceedings, upon which the election was declared void and consuls were elected as before.

THE CENSORSHIP.

The office of censor was this year established, or rather revived, having been first created by Servius Tullius, the fifth king of Rome. After the Tarquin family were expelled from the throne, the duties of the censors devolved upon the consuls, and so continued until the preceding year, when the office of consul was

superseded by the late law, appointing military tribunes (*tribuni militum*). But as these tribunes might by law be plebeians, and vested with consular power, the patricians succeeded in carrying a law by which the census should be taken, neither by consuls nor tribunes, but by two new magistrates of the state called censors, to which office none but those of the patrician order were eligible. However, afterwards, the plebeians were admitted to this high office. The censorship continued, with some few lapses of time, for the space of four hundred years. In the year, B.C., 22, Augustus appointed L. Munatius Plancus, and Paulus Æmilius Lepidus to this office: these were the last censors of Rome. After them, the emperors executed this office themselves.

The authority of the censors was only second to that of the dictator; their duties, from the origin of the censorship to its final extinction were, with little alteration, the same. At first, they were to hold office for five years, (a *lustrum*); but ten years after their establishment, their tenure was limited to one year and a-half. They had the power, at stated times, to summon the people by tribes, centuries, and classes, to where they held their court, and there make a rigid inquiry of each citizen of his property, name, nature, number, and value. Each man was bound to give on oath an account of himself and his family—whether he was married or single; the number and ages of his children; if the property was land, he should state, specifically, its name, locality, whether arable, meadow, olive, or vineyard; the number of his slaves, cattle, his clothing, carriages, jewels; and upon the whole a certain property tax was fixed by the censors, and which the party so assessed should pay to the state.

Another duty of the censor, and which was the most formidable, as it certainly must have been in many instances the most painful both to himself and the subject—that of the right of investigating into the state of private families, and watch over the public and private morals of each citizen—this was called the *regimen morum*. Under this head, he inquired into

the cause of the abandonment of a solemn promise of marriage, the dissolution of the connubial ties contrary to law ; neglect or cruelty to wife, children, slaves, or clients ; the disobedience of children to parents ; want of industry in not cultivating one's land in a husband-like manner ; living expensively beyond one's just resources. For the violation of any public duty, as bribery, or partiality in office, offending a magistrate in the due exercise of his office, the authority of the censor was also most extensive,—he having the power to expel a senator from the senate, and thus degrade him ; take from the knight his horse—a serious indignity ; or expel a person from his tribe. However, it was some mitigation to this almost supreme power that the decision of the censors might be reversed by their successors, and the degraded party thereby restored to his original rank. Finally, to the censors were intrusted the auditing and investigation of the finances of the state, and the expenditure of the public money upon bridges, aqueducts, sewers, roads, and temples ; upon which latter subjects they appear to have exercised a power above that of *Ædiles*, who were specially appointed for the examination and superintendence of public buildings of the city.

So large a portion of power, and that so various, placed in the hands of two individuals, without any fixed rule for their decisions, but ill accords with the loud-boasted liberty of Rome. We at least have reason to congratulate ourselves that our lot has been cast in happier times, and that we are alike free from the domiciliary visit of the censor and his capricious justice.

A famine, which prevailed in the year, B.C., 440, proved a fertile source of civil discord. The government having appointed L. Minucius prefect of the corn market, great exertions were made to procure provisions from the surrounding states. A wealthy and benevolent plebeian, named Spurius Mælius, purchased a large quantity of corn at his own expense, which he distributed at a reduced price to the starving populace. The fame of his generosity aroused the jealousy of the

patricians. Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus was appointed dictator, and Servilius Ahala, master of the horse. The unfortunate Mælius, whose crime was compassion for the miseries of his countrymen, soon perceived with what intentions a supreme magistrate had been elected. He was accused, like Sp. Cassius, of an attempt to obtain sovereign power. The dictator having summoned the people to his tribunal in the forum, Mælius, attended with the rest. The populace, scared by the presence of the stern Cincinnatus and his lictors, made no effort to preserve their benefactor, and Mælius, who attempted to defend himself with a butcher's knife, was assassinated by Servilius Ahala. Cicero has described this murder as an act of exalted patriotism; others regard it as the brutal impulse of party animosity. For this outrage Servilius Ahala was condemned to banishment; but was in a few years afterwards recalled and obtained his pardon.

For nearly forty years after these transactions, the history of Rome contains little more than the annals of petty incursions against the Æqui and Volsci.

A victory of Mamius Æmilius* over the Vejentes, in which he slew with his own hand, Lars Tolumnius, the general of the enemy, is remarkable as the second instance of the dedication of the *spolia opima*,† to Feretrian Jupiter, and first instituted by Romulus in the year, B.C., 405.

* I have departed, on the authority of Perizonius, from the ordinary narrative of this transaction, in which A. Cornelius Cossus is represented as having slain the Vejentine monarch and offered the spoils to Jupiter. The researches of Perizonius, although sometimes blamed for their refinement, are still deserving of the greatest confidence for their accuracy and erudition.

† The *spolia opima* are said to have been gained on three occasions only: first, by Romulus, having slain Acron; second, by A. Cornelius Cossus; third, by Marcellus, over Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, during the second Punic War.

SIEGE AND FALL OF VEII.

The Roman armies laid siege to the ancient and celebrated city of Veii. Like the siege of Troy, this war lasted without intermission for fully nine years, during which time both Romans and Etruscans suffered in turn many severe defeats. The dictator, M. Furius Camillus, undertook the conduct of the war. In the year, B.C., 391, Veii was taken by storm and pillaged, concerning which remarkable event, many strange legends are related. When the Romans were encamped around the city walls, an old Etruscan soldier from the enemy's sentinels cried out, that Veii should never be taken while the Alban lake contained water.

That lake had at this time risen to a remarkable height, which could not be accounted for by rain or any other natural cause. The Romans, struck by this remark coming from a nation famous for its skill in divination, seized the Etruscan by stratagem, and conveyed him into the presence of the Roman general, where, on being interrogated, he unwillingly admitted that through some fatality he had given utterance to a prophetic secret on which depended the interests of his country, and declared on the authority of the Veientine oracles, that Veii could never be taken until the Alban lake was drained by the hands of the Romans. Ambassadors were despatched to Delphi to inquire as to the accuracy of this prediction, who having returned with an affirmative answer, the Roman army was immediately employed in opening the drains by which the water was to be removed. When these works were commenced, a deputation from the citizens of Veii waited on the Roman senate, entreating of them to forbear. Finding their prayers of no avail with the conscript fathers, they observed, on retiring from the senate house, that the prophecy was indeed a true one; but that the fate of Rome was also near at hand when the lake of Alba should be drained. In the mean time the siege was vigorously carried on. Night and day the Roman legions toiled under the walls of the still impregnable Veii; but when at last the water had

been removed from lake Alba and dispersed through the surrounding fields, the besiegers, relying on the infallibility of the Delphic god, already began to deliberate on the distribution of the spoils. A decree was issued by the senate that all persons wishing to obtain a share of the plunder of Veii should proceed forthwith to that devoted city;—and the neighbourhood was soon filled with crowds of young and old, all eager for the destruction of the besieged. A temporary lull from the horrors of assault deceived the Veientes into tranquillity, as the Romans appeared to have relaxed in their energy, as if tired of the labours of the siege; but who in reality had been employed in excavating a mine which had already reached into the very centre of the city. While the king of Veii was offering sacrifice in the temple of Juno, an aged seer exclaimed that the victory should be his who would complete the sacred rites. A murmur as of an approaching earthquake was heard, and the Romans burst forth from under the very floor of the temple. All was now slaughter and confusion; for one whole day the streets were deluged with Etruscan gore, and the spoils exceeded the most covetous anticipations of the conquerors. In their fabulous superstition, it was said that a statue of Juno, the tutelary deity of Veii, voluntarily declared her readiness to accompany the victors to Rome, and to dwell upon the Aventine among the descendants of her own Tyrrhenians. Camillus, amid this blaze of triumph, fearing that his present height of fortune might, perhaps, be the prelude to disaster, prayed that the gods, by inflicting on him some light mischance, would save him from a more terrible destiny. It was fabled that his prayer was heard; his foot stumbled and he fell. These pious fears were, however, soon forgotten, and Camillus provoked the hostility of the gods by a triumphal procession to the capitol, never surpassed for splendour in the annals of Roman history. A few short years saw the conqueror of Veii an exile, and victorious Rome a heap of smoking ruins.

The poetical features of the war with Veii, forming as they do an oasis in a desert of uninteresting annals,

seem to have belonged to an ancient epic poem, in which the prowess of the Roman dictator is exalted, and the city of Veii becomes a second Illion;—resisting a ten years' siege, and taken by stratagem in a moment of fancied security. To trace the real circumstances of this celebrated war would be now extremely difficult, although the principal occurrences in it must be regarded as matter of historic certainty. The stories of the mine, the lake, and the bursting forth of the Romans in the temple of Juno, are, of course, purely poetic. According to other accounts, the city was taken by a general assault upon its walls.

Several of the ancient annalists state, that it was at this siege the Roman army first received pay;—the accuracy of this assertion has been justly questioned by a distinguished scholar; for we learn from Livy that the *cavalry* were supported, at a much earlier period, by a tax levied upon widows and orphans, to whom, it may be supposed, large legacies had been bequeathed. Hence, instead of this being the first time the troops were paid by the state, it is more than probable that some such tax was now first levied upon the plebeians for the maintenance of *each* branch of the military service.

After the fall of Veii an Etruscan tribe, named the Falisci, continued to resist the Roman arms. They were defeated by the indefatigable Camillus, and obliged to shelter themselves within the walls of their capital, where they were closely besieged.

A signal act of treachery from within proved to the Faliscans that the Romans were a generous enemy. A schoolmaster of Falisci, under whose care were many children of the Etruscan nobles, took occasion one day to bring his pupils without the city walls, as it were for an excursion of pleasure. Suddenly directing his course to the Roman camp, he demanded an audience with Camillus, to whom he laid open a base project for detaining the children in custody until the distracted parents should consent to surrender the city. The Roman general, confounded at a degree of treachery so foreign to his nature, spurned the miscreant with horror and disgust. He then ordered the schoolmaster to be

stripped naked, with his hands tied behind his back, and in that condition to be flogged back to the city walls by his own pupils, whom the indignant Romans supplied with rods. The grateful Faliscans, struck by the magnanimity of the Roman general, almost immediately surrendered the city, and the protracted Etruscan war was thus brought to a termination.

When the alarms and excitement of war had subsided, Rome once more became a prey to intestine feuds. The territory of Veii was claimed by the plebeians, and the tribunes demanded its immediate and indiscriminate distribution. This the senate strongly opposed, and Camillus obliterated his achievements from the memory of his countrymen by his obstinate resistance to their claims. The senate after much discussion was obliged to agree that the Veientine territory should be divided in lots of seven acres amongst all the plebeians. Camillus was soon after accused by the tribune, L. Apuleius, of having secretly appropriated a portion of the spoils of Veii to his own use, a charge not without foundation. He was condemned to banishment and a fine of 15,000 asses of brass—(£48 8s. 9d.) Camillus having paid his fine, departed from Rome, and prayed that his countrymen might soon have reason to regret him.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Gauls invade Italy—their Weapons and Dress.—Battle of Allia.—Massacre of the Senate.—Rome burnt.—Marcus Manlius.—Defeat of the Gauls—their Expulsion considered.—Rome, rebuilding of.—Tacitus and Niebuhr, their opinions thereon.—M. Manlius cast from the Tarpean rock.—Another version.

The same year that witnessed the banishment of Camillus from Rome, an event occurred which exerted an overwhelming influence upon the destinies of Italy.

An immense horde of Celtic Gauls, driven from their native country by one of those famines so com-

mon to barbarous tribes, crossing the Apennines, invaded the fertile territory of Etruria, which they soon rendered as desolate as the track of a swarm of locusts.

In their savage warfare nothing living was spared: trees and cattle alike perished by their steel. Destitute of a commissariat or military organization, they had no means of providing for their captives, and those who escaped the carnage of a battle were doomed to be massacred at its close. In these barbarous forays, their wives and families accompanied them. The wandering Gaul had no homestead, save what he purchased by his spear; nor did his ferocious and destructive spirit suffer him to remain long in any one locality. Cavalry and rudely-constructed chariots formed the principal strength of their armies; their weapons were, a lance, a shield disproportionately large, with a very long thin sword of indifferent temper; these were formidable alone to men whose bodies were not encased in iron mail. In stature they were tall, with yellow or light coloured hair, blue eyes, and regular features, to which however their long shaggy locks, and thick mustaches on the upper lip, gave an appropriate expression of ferocity. Their dress was a tunic of some striped material, with trousers, a garb peculiar to the nations of the frozen north, but now extended by civilization to southern climes. The large gold collars which marked the distinctive ornaments of their chiefs, excited the admiration of the frugal Italian husbandman, and still, in modern days, exercises the curiosity of the learned, when disinterred by the spade or plough of some Celtic nation.

The cause of their invasion of Etruria is said, in an ancient legend, to have arisen from an Etruscan noble named Anous, who being grievously injured by another named *Lucumo*,* and, despairing of redress, is said to have sent a present of wine and figs to some Gaulish chiefs beyond the Alps, and invited them to take possession of a country which yielded such delicious products. The Etruscan prototype of Narses of Byzantium, or Count Julian of Spain, was but too faithfully obeyed,

* See ante, legend of Tarquinius Priscus.

and a short period saw the fertile region, between the Apennines and the Tyrrhene sea, in the hands of the barbarians.

It was with no little consternation the Roman senate heard that a Gaulish army was in sight of the ancient city of Clusium, B.C., 391. Although its inhabitants applied to Rome for assistance, the fathers did not consider it prudent to supply them with troops, and contented themselves with merely sending ambassadors to the Gaulish camp, requesting them to withdraw under peril of a war with Rome. The persons selected for this mission were the three sons of M. Fabius Ambustus. The Gauls replied, that their own country was too small to support them; but, that if the Clusians would share their territories, they would be willing to desist from further hostilities. The Fabii considered this reply as an insult to the majesty of Rome, and so far forgot the neutral position of an ambassador, as to fight in the ranks of the besieged, where one of their number was recognised while in the act of stripping a Gaulish chief whom he had slain.

Brennus, the king of the barbarians, immediately sent a message to the Roman senate, requesting them to deliver up those persons, who had been guilty of so gross a violation of the universally recognised laws of war. The senate, though much concerned at the occurrence, resolved not to surrender a member of such a noble family to the tortures of a barbarian enemy, and appointed the Fabii military tribunes; informing the Gauls, that in this capacity they were not amenable to any tribunal; but that, if after a year, if they so desired, they might renew their complaint.

BRENNUS MARCHES TO ROME.

The Gauls, on receiving this answer, immediately set out for Rome. We are told by Plutarch, that in their march they refrained from committing any injury upon the property of the husbandman; but this is hardly credible. The Tiber afforded the invaders an unerring guide from Clusium to the capital, which they would have found completely unprepared, had not a Roman named

M. Cedicius, heard a voice by night at the foot of the Palatine, which announced the approach of this formidable and ruthless foe; dire was the consternation that now reigned throughout the city. All capable of bearing arms were mustered by the Fabii, and met the enemy, B.C., 390, at the stream of Allia, near the Crustumine hills, about eleven miles from Rome. The Gauls were seventy thousand strong, and soon out-flanked the Roman army, who, terrified at the stature and ferocity of the barbarians, made but a slight resistance; and casting away their arms, fled in the direction of Rome, but were overtaken by the enemy on the banks of the Tiber, in whose waters they perished by thousands, or else were overwhelmed by the javelins of their triumphant foe. Few escaped to Rome or Veii to report the fatal field of Allia. The day of that disastrous conflict was ever after considered of ill omen in the Roman calendar, and the name of Allia survived to testify a great defeat, when the national records of still greater victories have been obliterated by the hand of time.

Immediately after this battle, all the fugitives from the Roman army hastened to the city, expecting the prompt pursuit of the Gauls, who were, however, engaged for some time in plundering the bodies of the slain. The respite was but short; ere nightfall, their cavalry was descried on the confines of the Campus Martius, opposite to the Colline gate. That very night would Rome have been exposed to the horrors of universal pillage, had not the Gauls scattered themselves over the surrounding country, and celebrated their anticipated victory by brutal carousals and the plunder of the unhappy rustics. The attack was thus delayed for two entire days; the distracted inhabitants gladly embraced this opportunity of providing themselves with some temporary shelter. It was determined that the capitol should be fortified; that thither should be conveyed as much provisions as that memorable fortress could contain. To this, their last remaining hope, large numbers of the citizens retired with their wives and families.

The intelligence of the carnage at Allia now gave place to the sense of a still greater public calamity. The sacred statues and utensils of the temples of the gods were removed to Cœre,* and the piety of L. Albinus is recorded upon that occasion, who, while conveying his family in a waggon from Rome, overtook the priests and vestal virgins, carrying on foot their sacred burthen. Instantly he caused his family to alight, and loaded his waggon with a freight more precious in the estimation of the gods. When the barbarians had withdrawn from before Rome, this sacred deposit was restored to that city by the inhabitants of Cœre, who had preserved it with the most profound veneration, and were rewarded for their fidelity with the privileges of Roman citizens.

All had now taken refuge within the capitol, save those who were determined not to survive the destruction of Rome. The Gauls entered the city through open and unguarded gates, and marched in astonishment through untenanted streets, now as silent as the tomb; thus did they proceed until they had entered the forum where eighty Roman senators, scorning flight, dressed in full senatorial costume, calmly awaited their fate from the weapons of the enemy.

The sight of these venerable men, and the stern resolution which brooded on their countenances, repressed for a while the assault of the barbarians, who at first regarded them as the tutelary gods of Rome. At last, a Gaul more daring than his fellows, advanced and ventured to stroke the long white beard of one of those conscript fathers, M. Papirius. The indignant Roman struck the intruder to the earth with his long ivory sceptre; the fall of their comrade was the signal for a general massacre by the exasperated Gauls. The senators met their doom with firmness and dignity, and their courage redeemed the disgraceful panic at Allia. The city was set on fire in several places at once, and

* The English word, *ceremony*, is said to be derived from Cœre, whose inhabitants were remarkable for their punctilious observance of the forms of religious rites.

the plundered mansions were soon reduced to ashes, except a few houses on the Palatine hill, which the Gallic chieftains reserved for their own habitations.

ROME SET ON FIRE.

Horror and desolation now reigned at Rome. The garrison of the capitol looked down from the lofty ramparts upon their own blazing homesteads, and heard the crash of falling roofs mingled with the shouts of the victorious enemy. Their temples were reduced to piles of smoking ruins, or else made the receptacles for the collected plunder of the city; the streets were strewn with many objects of value, neglected or not understood by the indiscriminating hand of barbarian avarice which sought to grasp some richer prey. The houses of the patrician or plebeian were not distinguishable in this universal calamity.

The capitol was garrisoned by one thousand brave youths, who resisted all the assaults of the enemy; the former had no retreat, and fought with that energy which despair alone affords. The Gauls, knowing, however, that the resources of the besieged could not now be large, converted the siege into a blockade, resolving closely to invest the capitol until famine should compel their obstinate opponents to surrender. In this hope they were frustrated. The severe heat of the season, (July,) and the desolation which they had spread throughout the country, engendered a pestilence, by which large numbers of the foreigners perished, and the rest were too dispirited to renew hostilities with their indomitable foe.

L. F. Camillus, now in exile in Ardea, receiving intelligence of the miseries of his country, regretted the fatal prophecy by which he had himself devoted it to punishment, for its ingratitude towards himself. Addressing the inhabitants of Ardea, he represented to them the advantages which they would gain from the protection of Rome, and the eternal debt of gratitude under which they would place that city, if they would now rush promptly to its rescue. The accounts that daily

arrived of the debauchery in which the Gauls were spending their time, induced his listeners to believe that this brutal enemy could not long withstand the onset of temperate and vigorous men. The Ardeans agreed to march first against the Etruscans, who had seized this opportunity of ravaging the frontier territories of Rome, and from thence to Rome itself, to relieve it, if possible, from the barbarians.

M. MANLIUS.

In both undertakings they were successful; and intelligence of their approach was conveyed to the beleagured Romans in the capitol by a brave youth, named Pontius Cominius, who swam the Tiber at the risk of his life, and climbed into the citadel.

Before the arrival, however, of this succour, the capitol had nearly fallen into the hands of the enemy. The latter discovered the track by which the daring Cominius had ascended the fort. In the dead of night, a party of the invaders cautiously ascended the rock at this very spot, and would have surprised the fortress but for the screaming of some geese, sacred to Juno, which had been spared even in the midst of the famine. M. Manlius, a noble of consular rank, was awaked by the noise, and immediately rushed to the edge of the precipice, down which he hurled the first of the adventurous Gauls; the rest of the Roman garrison hurried to his aid, and the barbarians, thrown headlong from the lofty height, met with the general reward of unsuccessful enterprise. The negligent sentinels who had failed to observe the approach of the enemy, were punished in the same summary manner as the enemies themselves, while Manlius received the substantial acknowledgment of his countrymen, in the shape of half a pound of corn and a quarter of wine from each citizen.

The Gauls, still harassed by the ravages of famine and disease, began to think seriously of retiring from the city. Collecting the dead bodies of their companions, they committed them to the flames, at a place ever after-

wards known as the *Tombs of the Gauls*. They next proclaimed a suspension of arms; advised the Romans to surrender, constantly insisting on the extremities to which they must now be reduced by famine. The Romans were resolved by one bold stratagem to disappoint their adversaries, and induce them to believe that the capitol was well provisioned. Collecting all the flour of which they were possessed, they baked it into a number of loaves; these they rolled down among the astonished Gauls, who, probably, supposing the besieged to be supplied by supernatural means, resolved to discontinue such a hopeless warfare, and agreed to evacuate the city on payment of one thousand pounds of gold. Disgraceful as was this condition, the Romans were obliged to submit. While the money was being weighed, Brennus, in derision, cast his sword into the scale; when the Romans ventured to remonstrate with him on such a violation of the treaty,—“*Woe to the vanquished!*” was the sole reply of the haughty monarch.

Before this humiliating compact was concluded, Camillus, who had been recalled from banishment by a decree of the Roman senate, approached the city and drew up his army in line of battle. The Gauls, who were totally unprepared for this, rushed to the conflict in a furious but disorderly manner, and were routed at the first assault; a second engagement which took place at the Gabinian way, completed the total discomfiture of those haughty invaders, of whom but a very inconsiderable number escaped to their own country. Tradition states that Brennus himself was taken prisoner and put to death; that while complaining of this violation of the treaty, Camillus retorted on him his own words—“*Woe to the vanquished.*” But in this, as in most other Roman traditions, the truthful has been sadly sacrificed to the poetical.

EXPULSION OF THE GAULS CONSIDERED.

The sack of Rome by the Gauls is an unquestionable historical fact. The southern march of this formidable

for occurred while the confederate powers of Lower Greece were contending with the republic of Athens in the terrible Peloponnesian war. In the actual date of the taking of the city, there are some discrepancies between Livy and Polybius; the period commonly assigned for this memorable transaction is three hundred and sixty-five years from the foundation of Rome by Romulus, or about B.C. 394. The variations range through a period of about ten years, which is, perhaps, neither important nor surprising, considering the remote antiquity of those events, and the absence of accurate means of notation.

In the remainder of the narrative, the discrepancies are still more obvious. The recall of Camillus, and his appointment as dictator, are not mentioned by that very accurate Greek historian, Diodorus Siculus; besides, Polybius distinctly states that, so far from Rome being delivered by the courage or patriotism of Camillus, it was abandoned as an act of grace by the Gauls, who returned in safety to their own country. Among a rude and unsophisticated people, as the Romans decidedly were at this period, it is easy to falsify dates and confound distinct and separate transactions. When Polybius and his followers devoted their study to the early annals of the conquerors of Greece, they must have rather guessed at the truth, than have given a faithful record of it. Those early lays which commemorated the achievement of the Manlii and Camilii, were thus allowed for centuries to supply the place of genuine history; and it is to the patriotism and learning of some descendants of the followers of Brennus we owe a clearer insight into the annals of those times.*

REBUILDING OF THE CITY.

When the Gauls had departed, and the long imprisoned defenders of the capitol ventured to descend into the city, they found it a dreary pile of ruins. Instead of those buildings hallowed by domestic and national

* Beaufort. *Memoires Acad des Inscript.*

recollections,—the worship of their gods and the sepulchres of their fathers,—there remained to them nothing but a wilderness of blackened ruins, in which no eye could trace even the skeleton of Rome; grief and depression pervaded every heart. The *Pomærium* of the city, that sacred boundary which the piety of Servius had consecrated by solemn religious rites, had been destroyed, and the dispirited Romans talked of retiring to Veii rather than commence the hopeless and dangerous task of rebuilding their native city: this question was even debated in the Roman senate; but the cause of courage and patriotism prevailed, and the people undertook their arduous labour with spirit and alacrity.

There is no reason to doubt that the new city was inferior in size and beauty to the old. The indigent citizens had now but little resources to expend upon the restoration of public edifices; while they had sufficient experience of the horrors they incurred by the contraction of debt, and the heartless exactions of their patrician creditors; hence, the restored streets were for the most part narrow and irregular, while the city of the kings was broad, and well supplied with sewers and drains. Tacitus has remarked, contrary to the opinions of modern times, that the narrowness of the Roman streets conduced to the health of the inhabitants,—an assertion which the acute Niebuhr has sanctioned by actual observation of the modern city, in which he remarks, that those quarters which, like roads, lying between the Tiber and Flaminian way, are open and exposed, are less healthy than more confined localities. The sudden change of temperature, from those scorching heats that in summer render the Roman Maremma so fatal to life; while the biting cold of the north winds in winter were partially resisted or modified by this species of building; besides, the progress of the destructive blasts, the Vulturnus and Atabulus (sirocco), so dangerous in the open country, were checked by these architectural peculiarities of Rome. Notwithstanding these high authorities, it is presumed they will be considered of small importance in the scale of modern science. Rome,

it must be remembered, from its local peculiarity, seated in the marsh of the Campagna, never was and never can, perhaps, be a healthy city. Although the sirocco may sweep along the open plain with unrestricted violence, still, as a general proposition, in cities, where multitudes of persons inhabit, cleanliness, and the free admission of air, will always be found, if not actually to prevent disease, greatly to abridge its visits and its fatality: while narrow streets will of themselves engender disease; besides, the close proximity of the houses must have materially contributed to the propagation of fire, whether accidental or designed; a circumstance of which the monster Nero availed himself in his atrocious attempt of burning the city. Indeed, our ideas of Roman magnificence must be somewhat abridged, when we consider that the construction of those houses must have been of a very indifferent order, as we find the poet Juvenal complaining of the constant falling of the Roman mansions, as one of the many discomforts of a city residence.*

M. MANLIUS.

For a period of about three years after the rebuilding of the city, the Romans were engaged in mere frontier wars with the Etruscan and Latin states, during the course of which the towns of Antium, Satricum, Velitræ, and others of less importance, were alternately in the hands of the contending hosts. The severe taxation, one of the consequences of the Gallic war, excited general discontent, and the unhappy citizens of Rome once more became a prey to the exactions of some of the patricians. M. Manlius, the preserver of the capitol, exerted himself to relieve the miseries of his countrymen; in so doing, he excited the animosity of that party which he opposed. His purse was open to the humble debtors, and more than four hundred plebeians were rescued by his bounty from a life of degradation in the dungeons of their creditors.

The cruelty of the patricians was increased to ex-

* Juv. iii, Sat. Ed. Ruperti.

asperation at a charge which Manlius had preferred against them, of having embezzled a portion of the ransom money of the city. The vigilance of conscious guilt is ever sleepless; Manlius was impeached by the consul A. Cornelius Cossus, for seditious slander of the patrician order, and was thrown into prison, from which, however, he was speedily released by the formidable popular demonstrations of the plebeians in his favour. Twice on this charge was he brought to trial, and twice was he acquitted by the gratitude of his countrymen for his preservation of the capitol, to which he pointed reproachfully, to chide his enemies for their forgetfulness of his services. He was at last condemned to death by the patrician Curie, and cast from the Tarpeian rock, in the year before Christ, three hundred and eighty-four.

A more probable version of this story may be gathered from Diodorus Siculus, Lib. xv, and a fragment of Dion*:—That Manlius assembled a band of armed men to defend his life against the machinations of his enemies; with these he seized upon the Capitoline fortress which he held for a considerable period, and was at last slain by the treachery of a soldier who pretended to have a secret of great importance to communicate to him, and having artfully led Manlius to the edge of the Tarpeian rock, suddenly pushed him down the precipice. The vengeance of the patricians was active;—a decree was passed by the senate which directed the confiscation of all the property of Manlius, and the abolition for ever of the prænomen of Marcus from any of the family of the Manlii. The plebeians long mourned over the memory of their intrepid defender; they felt that the judicial proceedings which had been taken against him were no more than a mockery, in which his enemies were his judges; besides, there was little reason to doubt that the charges which he preferred against the patricians, especially those against the ex-dictator, Camillus, were substantially correct.

* Zonaras Annales, A.U.C., 351.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Licinian laws.—Licinius himself the first violater of them.—The first Plebeian consul.—Prætors appointed—their office and duty.—Ædiles, their number and power enlarged.—Interest on money—its true principle.—The Gauls again in Italy.—Torquatus Manlius.—M. Valerius Corvus.—M. F. Camillus.

On the death of Manlius, the plebeians again sunk into their former state of distress and depression, from which they were rescued after a period of about eight years, by the intrepid energy of Caius Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, both of whom having been elected to the tribunitian office, in the year, before Christ, 376.

LICINIAN LAWS.

These tribunes at once proceeded to construct, or perhaps, restore the former constitution of Rome, and re-assert the dormant privileges of the people. For this purpose, they proposed three laws, which have ever since been designated the *Licinian rogations*. First, that all the amount of interest already paid upon loans should be deducted from the advanced or lent capital, and that the remainder should be paid off by three yearly instalments. Second, that no person should be allowed to possess more than five hundred acres of the *public lands*; that no person should keep more than one hundred head of large cattle, or five hundred of small. Third, that from henceforth, at least one of the consuls should be a plebeian.

The proposal of these measures created much excitement and alarm among the senators. The great masses of the people were attached to the interests of Licinius and Sextius. These laws would have been almost immediately enacted, had not the patricians influenced the eight other tribunes to oppose them. Licinius and his colleague, though foiled, were not vanquished; they exercised their right of veto, or intercession, and for five years successively they interrupted the comitia for

the election of consular tribunes, suffering no officer of the state to be appointed except plebeian tribunes and *Ædiles* of the city. During this period of anarchy the Romans remained fortunately unmolested by any of their foreign enemies; and excepting a trifling war with the city of *Velitræ*, the state remained free from all except internal dissensions.

A fourth law was now proposed by the intrepid *Licinius*; that, instead of two men, "*Duumviri*," formerly appointed for the keeping of the *Sybilline* books, that two should be elected to that office for the future, of whom one-half were to be plebeians. This law was principally intended to meet the frequent objections which the patricians were constantly urging to the election of plebeians, on the ground that the latter had no proper auguries of their own, therefore were not entitled to share in those offices which were governed by the will of the gods.

As only five tribunes now continued to oppose the measures of *Licinius*, the patricians, to keep him in check, appointed a dictator, the aged *M. Furius Camillus*, the conqueror of the Gauls, in the year, before Christ, three hundred and sixty-eight.

Camillus attempted by violence to suppress the claims of the plebeians, but being threatened by the tribunes* with a fine of five hundred thousand *asses* if he continued to disturb their proceedings, he abdicated in favour of *P. Manlius*. The latter, on his assumption of this important office, the better to gain the affections of the populace, and to display his regard for their interests, appointed, as his master of horse, *G. Licinius Calvus*, a near relative of the tribune *Licinius*, a movement which had no influence whatever with the latter, and who would make no concession whatever;—when about to be elected tribune for the tenth time, he refused that honour, unless the people bound themselves by a solemn promise that all his rogations should be passed into law. At length the patricians, seeing

* The dictator was irresponsible for all his acts, even after he resigned office; but to this, the case of *Camillus* was an exception.

the inutility of their opposition to those popular claims, relaxed their hostility, and the fourth rogation was passed, B.C., 367, twelve months after its announcement; and shortly afterwards, the entire of the Licinian measures became the law of Rome, and solemnly sworn to by both orders of the patrician and plebeian estates. These laws, particularly the third and fourth, are considered to have had a most beneficial influence upon Roman greatness. It is a painful and memorable fact, that Licinius himself, the propounder of these laws, was one of the very first persons who was prosecuted and fined for the violation of the second enactment. He was found to possess, contrary to the recent statute, one thousand acres of the public land, five hundred of which he held in his own name, and having allocated five hundred more to the name of his son, he considered himself not within the compass of the law; but it having been proved that his son derived no emolument therefrom, even the popular Licinius was held amenable to the law, and with rigid justice was fined accordingly.

In the year following, L. Sextius, B.C., 366, was appointed the first plebeian consul; but the patricians continued their futile opposition, and the city was near becoming once more a prey to civil dissensions. The exertions of the dictator suppressed the rising flames of insurrection; and an alteration was made in the form of the consular jurisdiction.

THE PRÆTORSHIP.

A considerable portion of the consular authority was now vested in an officer called the prætor, and who was to be selected solely from among the patricians, that order having now lost the exclusive enjoyment of the consular office, by the inroads which the plebeians were daily making upon their privileges. It was deemed right to chose this new magistrate from among the aristocratic branch of the constitution; but, in less than thirty years afterwards the plebeians aspired to, and exercised this office also.

The prætor was an annual officer; originally only one was appointed, but after the lapse of more than one hundred and twenty years, a second was established. The duties of the first were exclusively confined to Rome, or the city; hence he was called prætor *urbanus*. The second was styled prætor *peregrinus*; the duty of the latter being to decide all matters in controversy between foreigners and Roman citizens. The prætor, in his official capacity, presided over the administration of public justice, the rights of widows and orphans, the arrangement and celebration of the Roman festivals. In the absence of the consul, to whom he was only second in authority, he could summon or prorogue the senate; with the consent of the latter and the people, he could make or repeal what laws he pleased. The prætor *urbanus* kept a register of the names and residence of all the freedmen, and the reasons for which they obtained their freedom. In the absence of the consul, the prætors frequently headed the army; when their year of office expired, they were called *proprætors*. As the empire became enlarged by foreign conquest, prætors were assigned to each new province, and where they appeared with great pomp. In Rome they rode upon white horses, either as a mark of peculiar distinction, or, perhaps as a symbol of the purity with which they ought to exercise their high office; their tribunal was called the *prætorium*.* During the troubled times of Sylla, the dictator, J. Cæsar and the second triumvirate, the number of prætors was very much increased, but as the empire declined in power, the prætorship declined in the same proportion, when the number was reduced to three.

On the creation of the prætor, two Curule Ædiles were also appointed from the patrician ranks, who should in turn, with the plebeian Ædiles, preside over the administration of justice in the criminal courts. To the Ædiles were intrusted the care and preservation of the temples, the regulation and celebration of the

* The general's tent in the camp; and the residence of the governor of a province, likewise were so called.

great religious festivals, together with the control of the city guards or police. To carry such important measures into operation, these officers were supplied with funds from the public treasury—a custom that subsisted down to the first Punic war. Many efforts still continued to be made by the patricians to repeal the statute admitting the plebeians to a participation of the consular office; and at their desire C. Prætelius passed a law imposing severe penalties upon all those who were convicted of illegal practices to obtain the magistracy. From this time the social position of the plebeians in the state continued steadily to improve, and in the year 300, B.C., the Ogulnian law admitted them to the offices of augur and pontiff; within the period of about fifty years before, they had successively attained the honourable rank of censor and prætor.

The laws of debtor and creditor caused much more serious difficulties. These principally arose from that portion of the law which enforced the payment of the three yearly instalments already mentioned, and which very many of the poor debtors, being unable to discharge, were obliged to incur new obligations that only tended to multiply their embarrassments and aggravate their distress; however, a few years afterwards an act of grace was passed, and commissioners appointed for the liquidation of those claims out of the public treasury—the debtors giving security to the state for the reimbursement of the money so advanced; but, whether from humanity or negligence, the money seems never to have been rigorously exacted.

A law was passed in the year B.C. 356, by the tribunes M. Duillius and L. Mænius, fixing the highest rate of interest at ten per cent. for every twelve months; but, not long afterwards, that rate was still further reduced to five per cent. per annum. These regulations would appear either to have been only temporary, or very grossly abused; as, in the time of Augustus, five per cent. monthly, or sixty per cent. in the entire year, was commonly demanded by the money-lenders of Rome.

The people of Falerii, in Etruria, having assisted the Tarquinians in their late revolt, and also having refused to restore to liberty such of the Roman soldiers as had

fled for shelter to their city during that revolt, Rome resolved to chastise these provincials:—the conduct of the war was assigned to the consul, C. Manlius; but who performed nothing worthy of record, save that having called an assembly of the tribes in his camp at Sutrium, where he caused a law to be passed, by which the state was to receive the twentieth part of the value of all persons who obtained their freedom by manumission. But the tribunes of the people, while they approved of the object of this measure, considered it a dangerous precedent that a general in his camp, surrounded by an armed soldiery, should pass a law affecting the civil rights of the citizens. The tribunes, therefore, had it formally declared to be a capital offence for any person hereafter to hold an assembly of the people elsewhere than in Rome.

The other consul, C. Marcius, was more successful than his colleague Manlius. The Privernians, another provincial tribe, had lately committed several depredations upon the Roman territory, and C. Marcius took the field against them. On approaching the city of Privernum he found it well fortified, and a camp outside its walls, where the Privernians awaited the assault of the Romans. The consul, on beholding the strong position of the adversary, exclaimed:—"Soldiers,—Yonder camp and city I give this day to your valour—they are yours provided that you show you are as willing to meet the enemy as to plunder their country." The liberality of the general was on a level with the disinterestedness of his soldiers, who, with a shout of applause, accepted the bargain, rushed to the conflict, and the Privernians were for the present subdued.

A plague of a most malignant character now (B.C. 355), broke out in Rome, which devastated the city in every direction. Camillus, the ex-dictator, fell a victim to it in his eightieth year. All ranks became alarmed at this dire visitation; to arrest the progress of which, the senate, in their ignorance and superstition, decreed the celebration of *Lectisternium*—a ceremony never adopted but on occasions of great public calamity; when couches were spread, with the images of the gods reclining on them, and tables with provisions, of the

most costly and luxurious nature, were placed before those deities, at once to appease their hunger and their wrath; but, notwithstanding the number and riches of those votive sacrifices, the plague still continued for a considerable period with unabated fury. What added to this calamity, the Tiber had now overflowed its confines, and laid all the lower portions of the city under water. To mitigate this fresh misfortune, a singular Etruscan ceremony of driving a nail into the wall of the Capitoline temple, was resorted to by Lucius Manlius, now dictator.

An incident in the life of the latter, among the many memorable episodes of Roman history is interesting. The arbitrary conduct of L. Manlius had long rendered him unpopular. After the conclusion of the above ceremony, he in a violent manner attempted to raise a levy against the Hernici, but receiving such determined opposition from the tribunes, was compelled to desist, and ultimately to resign his office. In the year following, Manlius was impeached before the people for malversation in his late office of dictator, by M. Pomponius, the tribune, and assigned a day to prepare for his defence. A rumour of these proceedings reached the country house of Manlius, where his son, Titus, against whom he had taken an unjustifiable prejudice, (on account of some defect in his speech,) was confined by the cruelty of his father, and compelled to herd and work among the slaves on the farm, without enjoying any of the natural rights and pleasures of a child. The youth, having heard of the approaching trial, secreted a poignard beneath his robe, and unobserved by any of his father's household, set out for the city. On arriving thither, he proceeded to the house of M. Pomponius; having informed the servants that he was anxious to communicate to their master some very important information concerning the forthcoming trial of Manlius, he was immediately admitted to the presence of the tribune. The latter, learning the object of the interview, received his visitor with grateful acknowledgments, for thus aiding him in crushing an enemy. They were now perfectly

alone, when young Manlius, watching his opportunity, suddenly drew forth his poignard, and holding it to the throat of Pomponius, declared who he was, and threatened him with instant destruction unless he would swear to abandon the prosecution against his father. The affrighted tribune, astounded at a result so unexpected, yielded to the proposed conditions, and swore to relinquish all further proceedings. Young Manlius having achieved all his fervently anticipated wishes, returned to his father's farm as unnoticed as he had left it, and there resumed his ungenial toil. As the day of trial approached, the people were impatient for the punishment of the elder Manlius; but Pomponius explained to them the conditions which had been extorted from him, and his inability therefore to proceed any further in this cause; when those unsophisticated Romans at once forgot the errors of the father in the virtues of the son; and, the better to mark the valour of Titus Manlius, elected him as one of the military tribunes.

LEGEND OF MARCUS CURTIUS.

In the same year the Roman annals commemorate a much more extraordinary, but much less credible occurrence. A chasm had suddenly opened in the forum; this caused much surprise and even fear to the citizens, who regarded it as a fatal omen to the state. The soothsayers at length having been consulted upon this unaccountable chasm, declared that it could not be filled up, unless the most precious thing that the city contained was cast into the gulf. A noble youth named Marcus Curtius, deeming the valour of her sons the most precious ornament of Rome, dressed himself in full armour, mounted his horse, and rode courageously into the gulf, which immediately closed upon him and fulfilled the prophecy. The greedy jaws of the infernal deities were appeased with the bravest of the Roman citizens, and a lake, which appeared immediately upon the spot, received the name of *Lacus Curtius*, in memory of the event.

We have met with no writer, ancient or modern, who has thought it worth the trouble of either denying

or explaining this silly story, and must, therefore, only consider it one of those myths which the nobility of all countries are fond of fabricating, merely to encircle themselves or their posterity with the halo of antiquity for imaginary virtues, or chivalrous daring. An unsuccessful expedition against the Hernici, by the plebeian consul, Lucius Genucius, who was now drawn into an ambuscade by the enemy, afforded much satisfaction to the aristocratic party, who believed, or affected to regard this disaster as a sure evidence of the incapacity of the plebeians, and a manifestation of the anger of the gods at the presumption of the commons, for aspiring to such rank and distinction as the consulate of Rome.

They clamoured loudly at any attempt to renew the election of a plebeian consul; and by their intrigues, Appius Claudius was appointed dictator for the three following years. A successful war against the Hernici was the principal achievement of Claudius;—the camp of the enemy was taken, together with the town of Ferentinum. An inroad of the Gauls, who advanced as far as the Anio, summoned forth all the military resources of Rome to meet this formidable enemy. Titus Quinctius Pennus commanded this expedition, which was rendered memorable by the single combat of Titus Manlius, who had obtained so much glory for his filial piety. A gigantic Gaulish chief challenged the bravest of the Roman troops to a single contest, which was however declined, until young Titus Manlius accepted the challenge,—vindicated the honour of Rome, and slew the barbarian. The victorious Manlius removed the large gold collar (*torques*,) from the neck of the corpse, and, having placed it upon his own, received from that circumstance ever after the name of *Torquatus*. The Gauls were so terrified at this triumph of Roman valour, that they fled to the city of Tibur.

The expenses of these frequent campaigns, which lasted for nearly ten years, so exhausted the finances of the republic, that the consul, Cn. Manlius, passed a law *in his camp*, that any master manumitting a slave, should pay one-sixth of his value to the state;—a measure

which, in a fiscal point, was most prosperous, while it shows that humanity was making some progress among the Romans. However, the tribunes considering this as an unconstitutional enactment, passed a law that all transactions with the people should in future be held solely in an assembly of the people.

In the year, B.C., 350, again the Gauls appeared near Rome, but were driven from their position by the Romans. In the year following, those formidable foes showed themselves in Latium, where their predatory incursions were severely felt by the inhabitants. To Lucius Furius Camillus, the consul, the conduct of this war was assigned; he came up with the invaders in the Pontine district, where the latter were totally defeated. The poetical version of this occurrence is, that when the two armies approached each other, the Gauls proposed to decide the controversy by single combat. Immediately one of the military tribunes, a young Roman named M. Valerius, jealous of his country's honour, stepped forward and accepted the challenge. The usual preliminaries being arranged, the combatants rush upon each other—each animated for the fame of his nation; but a crow instantly descended from the skies and perched itself upon the helmet of Valerius; so that when the parties would come close to each other, the crow flew at the face of the Gaul, pecked at and flapped him with its wings,—the invader, unable to see his adversary, was soon overpowered and slain by Valerius; from which circumstance the latter everafter was known by the name of M. Valerius Corvus. Whatever credence may be given to this story, it is certain that to Lucius Furius Camillus is due the honour of having expelled the Gauls from Latium, and for many a year to come relieved his country from the inroads of these dangerous visitors. At the very name of Gaul the Romans long had trembled; a feeling finely expressed by their own historian,—“With every other nation they fought for glory, but with the Gauls, for mere existence.”*

* Cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria, certare. Sallust Jugur. 114.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The first Samnite War.—Revolt of Capua—this Story considered.—War with Latium.—Self-devotion of P. Decius.—Death of young Manlius.—Subjugation of Latium.

B.C. 343.—Now commenced the great Samnite war, which grievously tore and distracted Italy, and for a time threatened the complete annihilation of the Roman power. The territory occupied by the Samnites was very considerable, extending from the lower sea and the coasts of Campania to where the Liris empties itself into the Tyrrhene gulf. The Samnites consisted of four principal septs,—the Caudines, Hirpinians, Pentrians, and Frentanians; these elected a supreme magistrate or dictator, who received the title of imperator, and was vested with sovereign authority in peace and war. The Samnites spoke the Oscan language, and had been ever distinguished for their military valour.

For a considerable time previous to the capture of Rome by the Gauls, the Samnites, then the most powerful people in Italy, had been extending their conquests over many important Italian states. A treaty, which had lasted for ten years, had been formed with them by Rome, for mutual defence against the inroads of the barbarians. The continual spread of the Samnite dominions alarmed the Sidicinians, who applied to Campania and received therefrom a large reinforcement. Relying on this increase to their forces, the Sidicinians ventured to attack the Samnites, but received a decisive defeat; and the war was transferred by the conquerors to the territory of Capua. The inhabitants of the latter city applied to Rome, and concluded a treaty, of which the heartless Romans quickly availed themselves. Affecting a neutrality, they informed the Samnites of this treaty, and requested them to withdraw from the Campanian territory of their allies. The Samnites, indignant at this breach of the prior treaty with themselves, declared war, which they immediately commenced by invading Campania.

B.C. 343, two Roman armies were ordered to extinguish this war ; one, commanded by A. C. Cossus, marched upon Samnium ; the other, under the command of M. Valerius Corvus, advanced to meet the enemy, and encamped on mount Gaurus, in the neighbourhood of Cumæ. The position of the latter was promptly attacked by the Samnites, and a furious battle ensued with no apparent advantage to either side, until, at the close of the day, when the Samnites were broken by a decisive charge of the Roman troops, and driven in disorder to their camp, which they abandoned in the course of the night, falling back upon Suessula, in the direction of Nola, whither they were eagerly pursued by Valerius.

In the mean time, the army of his colleague, A. Cornelius Cossus, had been exposed to great danger on the frontier of the Samnite territory. Passing through the neighbourhood of Beneventum, the road ran through a deep deserted ravine, into which the unsuspecting Cossus led his troops without any of the usual precautions. When they had entered the defile, and were now too far advanced to retreat, the Samnites made their appearance upon both their flanks and proceeded to cut off their rears. A gallant tribune named P. Decius Mus, offered to lead a forlorn hope of sixteen hundred men, and seize upon one of the heights which commanded the army of the Samnites. This offer was accepted, and the movement having been successfully made, the Roman army passed this dangerous defile, and reached the rising ground, while the enemy were in vain endeavouring to dislodge the intrepid Decius and his followers. Night closed upon the conflict, and the Samnites, disappointed of the greater prey, were resolved that the lesser should not escape from their hands. They placed a guard round the hill, but while they were overcome with sleep, the Romans cautiously descended, and after a brief struggle, succeeded in forcing a passage to their companions. Having united their forces, they advanced with haste towards the mountains, and obtained a complete victory over the enemy. Decius was rewarded with a golden crown,

a hundred oxen, and a white bull with gilt horns, probably for the purpose of sacrifice, at which it was the custom of the Romans to ornament the victim. Another signal victory, obtained by M. Valerius over the Samnites, in which *it is said*, forty thousand shields, and one hundred and seventy standards, taken from the enemy, and piled up before the general, completed a long list of Roman triumphs. Amid this blaze of conquest, the citizens could never have dreamed that within the short period of twenty years, they themselves would be reduced to the lowest degradation by those very Samnites whom pride and success had taught them to despise. The Samnites, exhausted by this succession of defeats, retired to their own territories, to which however the Romans do not seem to have ventured to pursue them.

REVOLT OF CAPUA.

Shortly after the first Samnite war, Rome was thrown into the greatest consternation by news that the army at Capua was in a state of mutiny. The cause of this mysterious and perplexing insurrection has never been satisfactorily explained, although we have much reason for supposing that the oppressive exactions of the money-lenders had contributed to it in no slight degree. The annals relate that the indigent Roman soldiers were excited by the wealth and luxury of Capua to seize upon that opulent city, and erect it into a new state. The consul, C. Marc'us Rutilus, then in command in Campania, having become aware of this seditious confederacy, exerted himself strongly to prevent any outbreak amongst the troops; but the latter, on an appointed day, set out for Rome, and encamped within eight miles of the city. An army, headed by M. Valerius Corvus, now dictator, advanced to meet them; and the rebels, either affected by the sight of the arms of their countrymen, or alarmed at their own critical position, began to repent of their intemperate undertaking. Valerius prudently proposed terms of peace, and the senate having agreed to a general amnesty, the affair was quietly suppressed.

REVOLT OF CAPUA CONSIDERED.

The ordinary accounts of this insurrection are in many places manifest forgeries. The insurgents are first described as having conspired to seize on the city of Capua, and then suddenly, without any assigned reason, they abandon this project and set out for Rome, where they content themselves with an amnesty and some trifling concessions. The historian Appian relates that the people were suffering severely from their incumbrances, and that the measure by which Valerius appeased the general discontent was an act of grace, or cancelling of debts; from these circumstances, Niebuhr and some modern scholars have conjectured, that the insurrection actually began in Rome, from whence the poor emigrated in an armed body to Campania, and excited the troops there to revolt:—the design upon Capua was probably a fiction of the annalists.

WAR WITH LATIUM.

The Latin states had long been watching the proceedings of Rome with jealous eyes. An abortive attempt at a treaty ended in a furious war. The Latins sent ambassadors to Rome and proposed a treaty, on condition that the Roman senate should for the future consist of one half members of the Latin tribes. This proposal roused the indignation of the Roman senators:—the ambassadors with difficulty escaped with their lives. Those Roman senators forgot that the Latins were entitled to be represented in a body which was henceforth to be invested with the government of their country. The people of Capua joined the Latin league.

War was immediately declared, the conduct of which was given to the consuls, P. Decius and T. Manlius. A few inconsiderable engagements took place; at length the hostile armies met each other at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. Here the Roman generals gave strict orders that no person whatever should engage any of the enemy in single combat. The son of the consul Man-

lius had the command of a troop of horse, with which he was sent to observe the motions of the enemy; in this duty he was insulted and provoked to quarrel with a Tusculan officer, when young Manlius killed him on the spot. The youth, rejoiced at his achievement, bore the arms of the slain to his father, but Manlius immediately reproved his son for his violation of orders, and consigned him to immediate execution. The companions of the youth applauded his courage, and honoured his remains with mournful affection, while the society of the unnatural father was ever afterwards shunned, and his name justly branded with execration and shame.

We are told that, previous to the impending battle, a vision of the night informed the consuls that one of the armies, and the general of the other, were claimed by the infernal gods. Decius and Manlius, in meditating on this vision, consulted on the course they should best pursue, and agreed that the first who perceived his army giving way, should devote himself and his adversaries to the infernal gods. In the battle which ensued, Decius perceiving his troops beginning to waver, repeated a short prayer of invocation, and rushing desperately amongst the weapons of the enemy, fell, covered with innumerable wounds. The Latin host, immediately assailed with renewed vigour by the legions of Manlius, gave way, and fled in confusion, while their disordered ranks were almost annihilated by the pursuing Romans. Capua surrendered instantly to the conquerors; and the Latins being again defeated at Minturnæ, where they had made an effort to rally their forces, broke up their confederacy, and abandoned the war in despair. To sixteen hundred Campanian knights, who remained faithful to Rome, Capua was condemned to pay each an annual pension of four hundred and fifty denarii.

SUBJUGATION OF LATIUM.

A few more short struggles decided the fate of Latium. From this period that territory appears no

more as maintaining her independence against the Roman arms.

The annalists of Rome speak in high terms of the moderation of their countrymen, and the inestimable benefits which they conferred upon the vanquished nation. It is true, that the cities of Aricia, Lanuvium, Nomentum, and Pedum, received the rights of Roman citizenship; but the important cities of Capua, Cumæ, and Formiæ, the first of which was properly the metropolis of the Campanian nation, were excluded from the latter privilege; a few only of their noble inhabitants were admitted to the rank of citizens of Rome. The fortifications of Velitræ were destroyed, and its noblest families banished, while the right of contracting marriages was limited to each particular city, thus destroying that *jus connubii*, which had formed the principal link of the Latin confederacies.

CHAPTER XIX.

Second and third Samnite wars.—Battle of Caudium.—Self-devotion of the second P. Decius.—Cruelty of Valerius.—Final subjugation of the Samnites.—Death of C. Pontius, and disgraceful conduct of the Romans.

The causes of the second Samnite war seem to have arisen from the restlessness of the Romans, who were flushed with their recent victory over the Latin states, and now resolved to bring all Italy to their feet. For some years after the Romans had concluded a treaty of peace with the Samnites, the former sent, in the year, B.C., 329, a colony to Fregellæ, a place which the Samnites had been at some pains to destroy. The Samnites resented this, and complained to the Romans of this breach of treaty; the latter, neglecting alike these complaints or demands, seized upon Fregellæ, and occupied it for some time; these and some contests

which occurred in the vicinity of Naples, provoked a general war. Naples submitted to the Romans, but the neighbouring state of Lucania joined the Samnites. The dictator, L. Papirius Cursor, having invaded Samnium, was compelled, by some error in the auspices, to return to Rome. On his departure he intrusted the care of the army to his master of horse, Q. Fabius, giving him at the same time strict injunctions to refrain from any general engagement. Fabius, irritated by the insolence of the Samnites, hazarded a battle near Imbrinium, where he gained a complete victory; and where the Samnites are said to have lost twenty thousand men. Papirius, a rigid votary of military discipline, having heard of this occurrence, proceeded instantly to the camp, fully resolved to punish Fabius with the greatest severity; the latter fled to Rome, and the army having threatened a revolt if Fabius should be punished, the senate with much difficulty prevailed on Papirius to grant him a free pardon: the people, although incensed at his cruel opposition, acknowledged the necessity of that discipline which was the foundation of Roman prosperity. Shortly after, Papirius obtained a decisive victory over the Samnites, when they sued for a truce of one year; this was conceded to them on condition that they were to clothe the Roman army and defray the expenses of the war for that year.

BATTLE OF CAUDIUM.

The Tusculans having revolted from the Samnites, and the latter having suffered other losses, now sued for peace with Rome. The senate demanded that the Samnites should recognise the sovereignty of Rome—terms which the latter refused with indignation, and the war was renewed with unabated fury. The Samnites laid siege to the city of Luceria, which had been taken by the Romans a short time previously. The consuls, T. Veturius and Sp. Postumius, B.C., 321; advanced to its relief. In passing through some dangerous defiles in the district of Campania, they

were at last surprised at a spot called the gap of Caudium, not far from the town of Beneventum. The Romans had conducted their line of march in a loose and disorderly manner, and even neglected to reconnoitre the dangerous pass in which they now found themselves involved. The Samnites perceived the error, and assailed them on all sides. After a furious contest, in which the Roman army was almost exterminated, the remnant was compelled to capitulate. C. Pontius, the Samnite general, nobly proposed to these Romans, who were in fact his prisoners, the following honourable conditions: first, "that the ancient equal alliance between Rome and Samnium should be restored; second, that Rome should cede all places which had been taken from the Samnites during the progress of the war, and that the Romans should withdraw all garrisons or colonies which they may have placed there." The consuls, in the name of the republic, swore to these conditions, and might have congratulated themselves upon their escape, had they not been obliged to pass under the yoke,—a degradation which they had often inflicted upon their vanquished enemies. The consuls, stripped of their robes of office, and clad merely in their tunics, were obliged to submit to this dishonour, while their soldiers followed, who lamented more the insult thus offered to their generals than to themselves. Covered with shame, they retreated hastily across the frontiers of Campania. On their return to Rome, the dispirited soldiers shrunk privately to their homes, and endeavoured to avoid the gaze of their fellow-countrymen. This disastrous event caused a general mourning in Rome: public business was suspended, and the unfortunate consuls, having appointed a dictator, resigned their office, being now deemed incompetent for the administration of the state. The senate refused to ratify the peace of Caudium, and resolved upon the sacrifice of six hundred Roman knights, who had been left as hostages in the hands of the Samnites, and decreed that all those persons who had sworn to the peace should be delivered up to the Samnites as having no authority to treat upon such

conditions. The ex-consuls were accordingly escorted to the camp of the Samnites, who refused to receive them, and the six hundred hostages were either restored or ransomed.

The gallant Samnite general, Caius Pontius, upbraided the Romans with their want of public faith, and quoted many instances of their equivocation on the subject of international treaties. The war was now renewed with redoubled fury. The towns of Satricum, Canusium, and Saticula fell into the hands of the Romans, who were, however, defeated, B.C., 315, in a general engagement, at Lautulæ. But they soon recovered from this reverse and gained some advantages over the Samnites. The latter, exhausted by the long continuance of the war, seemed to have gradually declined in power and resources. The cold-blooded massacre of the inhabitants of Minturnæ, and some other revolted towns from Rome, struck terror into all its dependencies. Sora was reconquered by Valerius, who carried upwards of two hundred of its citizens to Rome, and there had them basely massacred.

In the year, B.C., 310, the consul, Caius Marcius, was defeated at Allifæ, by the Samnites; his troops were completely surrounded by the enemy, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the dictator, L. Papirius Cursor, forced a passage to his relief. Several victories were gained by the Romans, where they exercised the greatest cruelties; but the war was protracted until the year, B.C., 306, when the Samnites submitted on condition of supplying the Roman army with corn for three months, and with clothing and pay for one year. Still, however, they refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, but were so harassed by the inroads of the enemy, that they at last agreed to this humiliating condition, about B.C., 304, after a struggle of nearly twenty years, and the loss of their most important territories.

WAR WITH ETRURIA.

The Etruscans, who had looked carelessly on while the Samnites were fighting the battle of Italian independence against the despotism of Rome, at last ventured to encounter their old antagonists, but at a time when Rome, having subdued one enemy, was ready to meet the other. The first few contests were of an indecisive character, but a brilliant victory, obtained by the consul, Q. Fabius, at Perusia, concluded the war, and several important towns of Etruria were ceded to Rome, B.C., 298.

THIRD SAMNITE WAR.

The Samnites, chafing under the severe conditions which had been imposed on them by Rome, renewed hostilities by the re-conquest and occupation of Lucania. The Romans sent ambassadors to request their withdrawal from the latter territory, which being promptly refused, war was declared; and the last Samnite war proved one of the most formidable the Romans had ever encountered. The two consuls, Q. Fabius and P. Decius Mus, advanced against Samnium. Decius defeated the enemy in the neighbourhood of Maleventum; the two consuls now joined their forces and ravaged that unfortunate country for a period of five months. The continued resistance of Etruria crippled the resources of Rome against the Samnites; and in a sudden inroad of the Gauls, an entire Roman legion had been exterminated before the consuls, Q. Fabius and Publius Decius Mus, who had been elected for the year, B.C., 295, were made aware of their loss. Fabius, by great exertions, restored the rigid discipline of the Roman camp to its pristine perfection. Never before did Rome require a more decided exercise of her powers: a confederacy of the Gauls, Samnites, Etruscans, and Umbrians now united their arms, under the command of Gellius Egnatius. Their armies hovered alike on the northern and southern frontiers of Rome; and it was manifest that any signal defeat sustained by the Roman arms must entail upon their city disasters as terrible as those of Allia.

BATTLE OF SENTINUM.

A tedious march across the Apennines brought the consuls into the neighbourhood of Sentinum, a village in Umbria, about four miles distant from the enemy's camp. Both armies quickly prepared for the contest; the Italian confederates disposed their troops in the following manner:—the Samnites and Gauls occupied respectively the right and left wings of the enemy's army; the Etruscans and Umbrians were detached for the purposes of assailing the Roman camp. The battle was long and sanguinary; and the Roman annalists assure us that, had the Etruscans co-operated with the rest of their allies in a general charge, the result must have been fatal to Rome. The day was intensely hot, and the Gauls, who at first vainly attempted to force the Roman lines with their infantry, caused great confusion by means of their chariots. The Romans were seized with an universal panic, and P. Decius, having laboured in vain to rally his flying countrymen, resolved to devote himself to the infernal gods, as his father had done at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, forty-five years before. Having repeated a prayer from the dictation of the pontiff, M. Livius, he rushed amongst the enemy and almost instantly perished. The Romans returned to the attack; the Gauls and Samnites, who had expended their strength in the fury of the first assaults, were wearied and surprised, and by the close of the day their ranks were completely broken. Gellius Egnatius, the general of the confederates, and twenty-five thousand of his troops are said to have fallen in the battle; but this number is probably much exaggerated. The Etruscans continued to resist for some time further, but were defeated at Perugia by Q. Fabius, who celebrated this succession of victories by a magnificent triumph.

The Italian confederacy being now dissolved, the Samnites, nevertheless, continued single-handed to contest with Rome the supremacy of Italy. With these feelings they administered an oath to all their men capable of bearing arms, that they would follow their

commander to the field, and punish any deserter or fugitive with instant death if they should fail in these observances:—they imprecated the most dire punishments from the gods upon themselves and their families if found wanting in these resolves. To make this declaration still more solemn, they called religion to their aid: animals were sacrificed around the altars, and the favour of the gods was supplicated for the protection of their liberties. A few Samnites, terrified by the awful character of the oath, or dreading the fruits of the impending war, refused to swear, but were instantly cut down by the swords of their indignant countrymen. However, all these excitements to their courage and resolution did not avail them in a contest with the consul, Sp. Carvilius, B.C., 293, who obtained a complete victory over them at Cominium, which was given up to the plunder of the Roman soldiers, and then burnt. Carvilius dedicated a colossal statue of Jupiter on the capitol, composed of the brazen armour of the defeated Samnites.

SAMNITES FINALLY DEFEATED.

The aged and intrepid C. Pontius, who had been at once the conqueror and the preserver of the Roman army in the disastrous battle of Caudium, was now appointed commander of the Samnite forces.—His resources were small, his troops scanty and dispirited. Out of the four districts of Samnium, the Pentrians alone were able or willing to contribute soldiers for the common cause; the valour and experience of C. Pontius triumphed over these severe disadvantages; and the consul, Q. Fabius Gurgus, who ventured rashly to attack a column of the Samnite legions, was repulsed with tremendous slaughter. The Romans, in the excess of their vanity, believed defeat to them impossible, unless through the errors of their general. Q. Fabius Gurgus, on his return to Rome, was summoned before the people, in order to have him dismissed in disgrace from command,—a measure that would have been carried into execution had not his

father, the venerable Q. Fabius Maximus, made great exertions in his favour, and consented to serve as the deputy of his son, but in reality, as commander of the army. A desperate battle took place between the Romans, under his directions, and the Samnites, commanded by C. Pontius. The eleventh book of Livy, which described this conflict, has perished; but the summary informs us that by the ability of the elder Fabius the Samnites were completely defeated, with the loss of 20,000 slain and 4,000 prisoners, among whom was the illustrious Caius Pontius. Fabius now resigned the command, and L. Postumius, a man of violent and implacable temper, proceeded to complete the subjugation of Samnium. In the year, B.C., 291, the third Samnite war was brought to a termination, and Q. Fabius the younger celebrated the triumph, in which the gallant C. Pontius was led in chains, who, after this vain parade, was then beheaded as a rebel.

His execution was a shameful infringement of the right of nations, and a base return for the clemency which he had shown the Romans at a time when they were completely at his mercy; when he provided remedies and attendance for their wounded soldiers; nay, even supplied them with necessaries for their return to Rome. Pontius had never sworn allegiance to the Roman senate, nor could the Samnite war be justly regarded as a rebellion; they were a perfectly independent state, that had long existed before the foundation of Rome. The death of C. Pontius is an everlasting stain upon the honour of the Roman people, that honour of which they so arrogantly boasted, and affords a strange specimen of those primitive days to which the Romans were accustomed to look back for the perfection of public virtue and domestic felicity. Of this public virtue we can find but few traces, unless it be in the breaking of treaties, the invasion of neutral territories, the storming of cities, and the massacre of defenceless captives. Domestic felicity must surely have been scared from the hearth of the unfortunate plebeian, groaning beneath oppressive taxation, or accumulated debt: compelled at any moment to pro-

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ceed to hazardous warfare, leaving his family in penury, and his farm exposed to the assaults of robbers. Nor could the proceeds of usury and monopoly preserve his patrician task-master from the dagger of the assassin; his crimes as frequently consigned him to the penalties of the law, or the summary justice of his exasperated fellow-citizens. Learning and literature found no root in so rude a soil; and at the time when the last bright gleams of Grecian eloquence were gilding the monuments of countless triumphs of the mind, the mistress of Italy still sat, dark and unlearned, amid the ruins of the nations which she had subdued.

CHAPTER XX.

Tarentum—war with.—Pyrrhus invades Italy.—Battle of Heraclea.—Pyrrhus marches on Rome.—Battle of Asculum.—Self-devotion of P. Decius Mus.—Pyrrhus invades Sicily.—returns to Italy—retires to Greece—dies.—Rome, mistress of Italy.

For nearly seven years from the conclusion of the Samnite war, the Romans enjoyed peace from all their foreign enemies, excepting the Boii and Galli Senones, who had invaded Etruria and destroyed several Roman colonies; but being defeated by the consuls, Æmilius and Fabricius, in a general engagement, they sued for peace.

The ancient city of Tarentum, (Taranto) lying on the north-western coast of the peninsula of Calabria, in Italy, was founded by a Lacedæmonian colony, nearly seven centuries before the Christian era. It was for many years an independent state, and at one period in its history, could raise an army of one hundred thousand foot and three thousand horse. The celebrated philosopher, Pythagoras, is said to have resided here for some years, who so inspired its citizens with the love of virtue and honour, that they were soon distinguished like for their talents in war or peace. It would

appear that after his death they ceased to be so honourably known. The enjoyment of a delightful climate, and the ease with which this people procured even the luxuries of life, so changed their character in latter years, that they became much addicted to indolence and inglorious ease; hence *the delights of Tarentum* passed into a proverb.

A treaty of peace had been made by Rome with this city; in this treaty it was stipulated that the Roman galleys should not sail beyond the Lacinian promontory (Cape delle Colonne); hence they should not enter the gulf of Tarentum. But the Romans having lately determined upon sending relief to the city of Thurii, far beyond the Lacinian promontory, and then, besieged by the Lucanians, it was necessary to violate this condition; and the decemvir, L. Valerius, who had the command of a squadron of ten ships, despising alike the treaty and the Tarentines, without asking permission of that people, sailed boldly within a short distance of their harbour. The Tarentines were highly exasperated at this contemptuous treatment, and rushing to their galleys, furiously attacked the Roman ships, four of which they sunk; one was taken as a prize, and the other five escaped with difficulty. The Tarentines, flushed with this victory, immediately abandoned their neutral position, and, sending a force against Thurii, compelled that city to surrender. For this aggression, Rome sent ambassadors demanding restitution from the Tarentine senate, but the embassy was there received with peals of laughter, and even grossly insulted. Against such conduct, Q. Postumius, one of the ambassadors, remonstrated; but, as their laughter continued, he exclaimed, "Laugh, if it so please you;—you shall have time enough to weep." They then returned to Rome and related these matters to the senate. Although the majesty of Rome had scarcely ever been more gravely insulted, their position did not at present allow of any very hostile measures. Submitting to a necessity they could not control, they proposed to the Tarentines, in the ensuing year, the very same conditions of peace which the latter had so contemptuously

rejected before: these met a similar refusal; and, as the Romans did not immediately prosecute the war, the Tarentines imagined that they feared the contest, and resolved to make one bold effort to destroy the growing power of Rome. Sending an embassy to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, already renowned in Greece for his military achievements, they called on him to assist them in so bold an enterprise.

PYRRHUS INVADES ITALY.

This distinguished general was born in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad (B.C., 318). His father, *Æacides*, who was said to have been descended from Achilles, the traditionary hero of Thessaly, was expelled from his kingdom by a sedition of his subjects, and his infant son would have perished but for the fidelity of some of his servants, who conveyed him to the court of *Glautias*, king of Illyria, who treated him with much kindness, and preserved him from the machinations of his enemies. By his assistance the young prince, in the twelfth year of his age, was restored to the throne of his father. After some time, however, he was again deprived of his kingdom, and driven into exile; but having made some important connexions abroad, he returned, recovered his patrimony, and put to death the usurper of his crown. His next exploit was to seize upon the throne of Macedonia, which he occupied for a period of seven months; when, being deposed by that people, his restless and ambitious mind caused him to pant for new conquests. It was at this period, that the Tarentine deputies sought his assistance against the Romans. Pyrrhus was pleased at the proposal, and confident that, in case of success, it would be easy to establish for himself a kingdom in Italy more worthy of his sway than the barren region of Epirus—with these feelings he prepared for the Italian war.

As his army was small, consisting of twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twenty elephants, it is probable he was led to expect great co-operation from the confederate states of Italy. He was well

supplied with transport ships from the Tarentines, but when his fleet was already on the sea, it was dispersed by a violent storm, and Pyrrhus himself barely escaped with his life. The scattered remnants of this armament were, however, collected, and a second embarkation proved more successful. On his arrival at Tarentum, B.C., 280, the inhabitants of that opulent and indolent city, began to repent the haste with which they had invited the assistance of a stranger. Pyrrhus commenced to treat them with all the insolence of conquest, and insisted that they should supply the deficiency in his troops from amongst themselves. This alarmed the unwarlike citizens, many of whom prepared to fly; but Pyrrhus placed a guard upon the gates, suppressed all public games and meetings, and obliged the citizens to contribute to the pay of his soldiers. Before commencing any regular hostilities against Rome, he wrote to the senate, requesting them to allow him to decide between them and the Tarentines. The Romans replied, that his having landed in Italy was a hostile movement which should be first atoned for, before he presumed to interfere in the concerns of Rome.

BATTLE OF HERACLEA.

The Roman army, under the consul, P. Lævinus, met the forces of Pyrrhus on the banks of the river Siris, near the town of Heraclea. For a considerable time the Greek forces contented themselves with opposing the passage of the Romans; but the latter having made a movement against their rear, Pyrrhus ordered his cavalry to advance against the Roman infantry. The latter withstood the attack with wonderful courage, and the legions of Pyrrhus seven times rushed to the assault, and were seven times repulsed. The elephants at last decided this remarkable battle. The Romans, who were unaccustomed to repel these animals, fled in confusion, and were pursued by the Thessalian cavalry of Pyrrhus. The Epirots obtained a signal victory, and the entire Roman camp fell into their hands; but their success was dearly purchased: although seven thousand Romans fell in the battle, more than four

thousand Greeks were numbered amongst the slain. Pyrrhus, who had been exposed to imminent danger throughout the day, and was even supposed to have been slain, commended the valour of the Romans. "Had I such soldiers," he exclaimed, "the earth should be my own. The Romans should possess it, were I but their general." He was much concerned at the loss which he had sustained, and was heard to observe,— "One such victory more, and I must return to Epirus alone!" A large portion of the spoils were dedicated in the temple of Jupiter at Tarentum, with the following inscription :

"The men who till now were unconquered, O excellent sire of Olympus;
These in the fray have I quelled, and yet am overcome by the same." *

An offer was made to the Roman captives to serve in the army of the conqueror,—a custom by no means unusual in the Greek states; but this was unanimously refused. Pyrrhus applauded the resolve, and humanely caused the bodies of the dead to be honourably interred.

A revolt of some of the disaffected Italian states was an immediate consequence of the battle at Heraclea. The inhabitants of Apulia, Locria, and the southern coasts of Italy openly espoused the cause of Pyrrhus. Decius Jubellius, the commander of the Roman garrison at Rhegium, took advantage of the general confusion to perpetrate an atrocious massacre. He charged the people of the latter city with being favourable to the enemy, and believing the cause of Rome to be now hopeless, he delivered up the unfortunate citizens of Rhegium to the fury of his soldiers. The male inhabitants were put to the sword,—the children and women he sold into slavery.

Jubellius immediately entered into a confederacy with the Mamertines, a band of military freebooters, who had already seized upon Messina, and occasioned

* See Note B.

ultimately by their depredations, the sanguinary war between Rome and Carthage.*

CINEAS VISITS ROME.

Pyrrhus, fearing lest the war should be protracted, sent his minister, Cineas, a man of rare eloquence and prudence, to negotiate a peace with Rome. On his arrival in that city, he commenced his diplomatic manœuvres by sending many valuable presents to the wives of the Roman senators, hoping by their influence to secure the interest of their husbands to second his suit with the senate. But these favours having been regarded in the light of bribes, were honourably and firmly refused by those ladies; and Cineas, thus obliged to depend upon eloquence alone, delivered a brilliant address to the Roman senate, proposing to restore the prisoners of war, and claiming nothing more than the friendship and alliance of Rome. Some of the senate were inclined to accept his conditions: but while the subject was under debate, the venerable Appius Claudius the blind, was carried into the senate, where he upbraided the conscript fathers for even hesitating in such a cause. "I have often lamented my blindness," said he "as a curse; now do I regard it as a blessing. Would that I had been deaf also, for then I had never learned that a Roman senate was so regardless of its country's honour. Why would you make peace with Pyrrhus? Your fathers used to boast in the days of Alexander the Great, how that hero would tarnish his lustre if he ventured to contend with Rome; that against a Roman army he would be no longer invincible. What change has come over you that you now so dread this Pyrrhus, the servant of one of Alexander's guards? You will make a peace with him? What then? Do you imagine that he will retire from Italy?—No, truly;

* See *Infra*. The name *Mamertini* was, probably, derived from *Mamers*, the Punic god of war. These freebooters were in every respect similar to the Free Companions of mediæval Europe, called *Condottieri*, i.e. "*Conductorii milites*,"—"hired soldiers."

it is not the desire of foreign conquest that keeps him absent from his country; it is the pressure of domestic enemies.—Make no peace with him. If you do, you will surely become the prey of countless adventurers who will follow his example." The opinion of Appius prevailed, and Cineas was ordered to withdraw from Rome; but not before he had studied with more than ordinary attention its physical and political features. "The city is one vast temple," he exclaimed to Pyrrhus on his return. "The senate is an assembly of kings. To us, it is a hydra more terrible than that of Lerna."

PYRRHUS MARCHES INTO ITALY.

All hopes of peace with Rome being now at an end, Pyrrhus advanced rapidly in the direction of Campania. As he was proceeding to invest Capua, his operations were stopped by the arrival of the consul, P. Lævinus. The cities of Anagnia and Præneste, nevertheless, fell into his hands; and from the citadel of the latter he might have obtained a distant prospect of Rome. Before he could arrive there, the Etruscans, on whose assistance he relied, had concluded a treaty with Rome, and Pyrrhus retreated rapidly to Tarentum, where he put his troops into winter quarters.

Ambassadors were now sent to Pyrrhus from Rome to treat for the exchange or ransom of prisoners. This embassy he received politely, but firmly refused to set the prisoners at liberty, unless the senate would accede to his former conditions. He allowed them, however, to return to Rome with the ambassadors, in order that they might celebrate the feast of the Saturnalia, then near at hand; but laid each prisoner under a solemn promise that he would return to the camp if the senate still refused to ratify the proposed terms of peace. These conditions were religiously observed, and the captives, during their stay at Rome, having made many fruitless exertions to forward the treaty with Pyrrhus, when the appointed day arrived, departed, to a man, to the enemy's camp, nobly preserving their honour at the sacrifice of their liberty.

BATTLE OF ASCULUM.

In the early part of the year, B.C., 279, the Roman army, under the consuls, P. Sulpicius and P. Decius Mus, met the troops of Pyrrhus near Asculum, in Apulia. The two armies paused for some time before commencing the attack; when the signal was given, the fight commenced with unexampled fury. The Romans suffered heavily, and gave way, although the brave Decius followed the example of his father and grandfather, in devoting himself to the infernal gods. His patriotism was of no avail: the Romans were completely defeated; six thousand of their bravest soldiers lay dead on the field of battle; but, here too, Pyrrhus had no reason to rejoice: he had lost more than three thousand five hundred of his choicest troops; he had now no alternative but to retire on Tarentum, as an alliance had been completed between the senates of Rome and Carthage. The latter city offered to send a fleet to Ostia; but the Romans, probably distrusting their new allies, declined the promised favour with all the courtesy of seeming thankfulness.

While these transactions were going on, a miscreant proposed to the Romans that he would take off their terrible enemy, Pyrrhus, by poison, but they nobly scorned the assassin, and refused to sanction such treachery. Pyrrhus, on learning this circumstance, was so pleased with the generous feeling of his enemies, that he sent back all his prisoners of war, providing them with clothes and other necessary requisites; at the same time offering terms of peace, but the Romans declined entertaining any terms whatever until Pyrrhus and his army should first evacuate Italy.

PYRRHUS INVADES SICILY.

Pyrrhus now began to carry out an enterprise which he had long contemplated, namely, the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily, and the reduction of that island to his own authority. In the autumn of the year, B.C., 278, two years and six months from the

period of his invasion of Italy, he crossed over to Syracuse with a fleet of sixty ships, having left a portion of his army in Italy, under the command of his son and another general. The affairs of Sicily were at that time in a state of great confusion; the important cities of this island had been for the most part founded by Greek settlers, and were for a considerable period, governed by petty princes or *tyrants*,* who exercised a despotic and irresponsible jurisdiction over the inhabitants, until their own domestic feuds deprived themselves of authority, and their country of its independence. The republic of Carthage took advantage of their dissensions to offer herself as umpire. The intervention of a foreign power is mostly the prelude to subjugation, and the Carthaginians soon made themselves masters of the entire island, with the exception of Syracuse.

Agathocles, the tyrant of that city, had but lately died when Pyrrhus landed in Sicily; and the unfortunate town was a prey to the contentions of two aspirants to the throne. Pyrrhus immediately commenced an active campaign against the Carthaginians, and obtained some signal victories; his cause was not, however, supported by the inhabitants as much as he had been led to expect; and, after a war of three years, he perceived his project to be hopeless, and determined to abandon it. In the year, B.C., 275, he returned to Italy; but had the mortification of losing in the passage nearly all the treasure which he had gained in the Sicilian war. During his absence, the Romans had been busily engaged in reducing those cities that had revolted after the battles of Heraclea and Asculum. The inhabitants of Bruttium, pressed by the arms of the consul, Q. Fabius, implored of Pyrrhus to come to their assistance. On his passage he met with a severe defeat from the formidable Carthaginian navy, which seized and sunk seventy of his ships. The Mamertines, a warlike colony of adventurers, who occupied

* The word *tyrannos* in Greek, simply means a king. The arbitrary conduct of these Sicilian princes seems to have first attached an idea of undeserved obloquy to the name.

many important cities in the south of Italy, and had settled in Sicily, also caused him much annoyance when he landed on the Locrian coast. Assembling an army of 3,000 horse and 20,000 foot, he marched from Tarentum into Samnium, where he encountered the Roman army, under Curius Dentatus, in the neighbourhood of Beneventum. Pyrrhus attempted during the night to seize upon a hill which commanded the Roman position; this movement was tedious and dangerous. The Roman soldiers at day-break observed the Greeks descending from the hill, and resolved to attack them while fatigued by their exertions of the previous night. The Greeks were easily routed, and the same fate overtook the main body of the king's troops, which still remained posted in the level plain. Pyrrhus, attended by a few cavalry, escaped with the greatest difficulty, to Tarentum; and regarding the war with Rome as now entirely hopeless, he returned to Greece, where he was killed two years afterwards by a tile, thrown by a female hand, during a rash expedition of his against the city of Argos.

The departure and subsequent death of Pyrrhus, destroyed the last hopes of the Italian allies. Lucania, Bruttium, and the southern districts submitted to Rome. Milo, the governor of Tarentum, surrendered the citadel to the Romans, who treated that city with more clemency than its inhabitants expected. It was, however, deprived of its fortifications and its fleet, and a few of its citizens were carried as hostages to Rome. The Campanian garrison of Rhegium, who knew that they had no mercy to expect at the hands of the Romans, offered an obstinate resistance. In the year, B.C., 271, it was taken after a long siege; all those found in arms were put to the sword, the remainder were scourged and beheaded. As many of the unfortunate citizens of Rhegium as had survived the massacre of Jubellius, returned to their native city, but Rhegium never recovered its former wealth and importance. A petty insurrection in Samnium, which was principally caused by a band of robbers, was the last of the Italian wars; it was suppressed in

the year, B.C., 268, from which period we may date the supremacy of Rome over the entire peninsula of Italy, after a struggle of nearly five hundred years. The social war of two centuries later, was not a struggle for independence on the part of the Italian tribes, but for a share in the constitutional privileges of Rome. Etruria, indeed, for a considerable period preserved a distinct nationality and language, but her warlike virtues were lost; her inhabitants gave themselves up to indolence and luxury. The Æqui and Volsci—those early and indefatigable enemies of the Roman name,—disappear from the annals, even previous to the capture of this city by the Gauls. From the time of the war with Pyrrhus, commence the foreign relations of Rome. The jealousy of the Carthaginians provoked the first Punic war; and from that era, the dominion of Rome steadily increased until the dark period, when, after a lapse of six centuries, the environs of Rome were once more the seat of hostile armies, and the dotage of the empire saw renewed the petty contests of its infancy.

CHAPTER XXI.

Republic of Carthage—its Commerce—its Mercenary Troops.—Cause of the first Punic War.—First Roman Fleet.—Naval victory of Duillius.—Naval battle of Ecnomus.—Regulus goes to Africa.—Xanthippus.—Battle of Carthage.—The Romans defeated.—Progress of the war.—Regulus sent prisoner to Rome—his character considered.—Siege of Lilybæum.—P. Claudius Pulcher.—Hamilcar, father of Hannibal.

Of the wars undertaken by Rome against foreign states, one of the most memorable was that against the republic of Carthage. This celebrated city was founded on the northern coast of Africa, about one hundred years before the building of Rome. It was said that a Phœnician princess, named Dido, sister to Pygmalion, king of Tyre, fled from the cruelty of her brother, who

through avaricious motives, had murdered her husband, Sichæus. Having collected as many of the citizens as were willing to change their country, she, with her adherents, took shipping, and landing on the coast of Africa, purchased from the natives as much land as could be enclosed by the hide of a bull. When the purchase was concluded, the hide was divided into long narrow strips, by means of which, a much larger amount of ground was enclosed than it had been the intention of the aborigines to grant. Upon this ground a fortress, and afterwards a city, were erected, and Dido gave a constitution to her subjects. The city was called Carthage, from two words in the Punic language, signifying "new city." Its form of government did not continue long to be monarchical, and the supreme authority was delegated to a council of one hundred and four persons, chiefly members of noble families, who elected two annual magistrates, called "Suffetes," in privileges and jurisdiction similar to the Roman consuls. A senate, or general council of the citizens, also existed; but the number of members who constituted this body has not been clearly ascertained.

The principal sources of the wealth of Carthage were her vast commercial relations with both Europe and Asia.

COMMERCE OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

While the infant republic of Rome was contending for mere existence against the Italian tribes, Carthage, already an important state, was extending her conquests over western Europe. The territories of Spain, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, afforded ample opportunities for the increase of commercial enterprise, and the Carthaginians have the merit of never conquering through the mere lust of power. Their navies sailed to and from the coasts of Phœnicia and Palestine, whence they obtained the luxuries of purple and scarlet cloth, perfumes, incense, spices, and precious stones. Egypt supplied them with paper, corn, flax, and materials for the rigging of their ships. Their inland territories in

Africa contributed the costly plumage of the ostrich, together with gold dust and the finest gum. The mines of Spain yielded an abundance of silver and the more useful metals, which their merchants bartered on the shores of the Red Sea for the pearls and barbaric riches of Persia and the East.

THEIR MERCENARY TROOPS.

One great disadvantage to the Carthaginians was, that they were obliged in war to depend upon the services of mercenary troops. The citizens seldom served in the armies of the state, which were generally recruited from the natives of Numidia, or the hardy mountaineers of Spain and Lusitania, (Portugal). As long as the city continued opulent and could afford to pay its defenders, their affairs proceeded prosperously; but on occasions of defeat or scarcity, they were exposed to double danger, from the enemy and from their own mutinous troops. A terrible example of this occurred after the first Punic war, when the treasury being exhausted, the foreign soldiers in Africa grew clamorous for their pay, and, choosing two outlaws named Spendius and Matho for their leaders, they seized upon the principal cities of Africa which were subject to the Carthaginians, massacred the inhabitants, and divided the plunder amongst themselves, while the Carthaginians were so paralysed with terror that they looked on inactive; and their city would have fallen into the hands of the insurgents, but for the courage of one of their generals, and some seasonable relief which they obtained from Numidia. In Rome, the public spirit of its citizens was roused by misfortune and sustained by emulation. The news of defeat was the signal for thousands to volunteer their services, that the national fame might be honourably retrieved; but such public virtue could not be expected from mere hirelings.

CAUSE OF THE WAR.

The Mamertines, a body of mercenary troops, who had made themselves masters of Messana, had for a considerable period entered into an alliance with the revolted Campanian garrison of Rhegium. When the latter had met with the just reward of their atrocious treachery from the hands of the Romans, the Mamertines became uneasy lest they should be pressed by the arms of Hiero, king of Syracuse, or the Carthaginians, to whose territories they had given much annoyance. The former was the first to commence hostilities, and in the year, B.C., 264, defeated the Mamertines near Messana, and recovered several of the towns which they had seized.

They now expected the immediate reduction of their city, and were about endeavouring to make a treaty with Hiero, when a Carthaginian commander interfered; dreading lest the Romans might be induced to enter Sicily.* The Mamertines hesitated to receive the aid of Carthage, and preferred to seek the assistance of Rome. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the senate, who pretended much indignation at the request, but, nevertheless, allowed their consuls to conclude a treaty with this band of freebooters, who deserved as severe a punishment as that which had been inflicted upon the garrison of Rhegium.

While this subject occupied the attention of the Roman senate, the Mamertines, fearing lest they should fall into the hands of Hiero, received a Carthaginian garrison into their citadel, and the king of Syracuse, timid of enraging the powerful republic of Africa, abandoned his enterprise against Messana. The Romans had now no possible pretext for interference, yet they invested the consul, Appius Claudius with the command of their armies, and directed him to invade Sicily. He proceeded accordingly to invest Messana;

* Pyrrhus, on his departure from that island, had prophesied the first Punic war, by observing "How fine a gymnasium (*γυμνασιον*) do we now leave for the Romans and Carthaginians."—Plut.

and the Carthaginian garrison was treacherously surrendered into his hands; Hanno, their commander, who escaped to Carthage, was there executed for his negligence. Messana was again besieged by a Carthaginian fleet and army in conjunction with that of Hiero. But the latter having received a defeat from the Romans, retired into Syracuse; the Carthaginians were also forced to relinquish the siege, and Hiero effected a treaty with Rome, by the conditions of which he was obliged to release all his prisoners, and pay two hundred talents into the Roman treasury. Immediately after the raising of the siege of Messana, the Romans extended their conquests over Sicily, most of the towns having submitted except the ancient city of Agrigentum, at the mouth of Acragas, on the southern coast of Sicily. The garrison was commanded by Hannibal the son of Gisco, a Carthaginian general of much prudence and experience, who protracted the defence for seven months, when, the provisions being exhausted, he contrived to effect his escape, together with most of the inhabitants, the aged and infirm alone being left behind, in the selfishness of terror. Upon these the Romans wreaked their disappointed vengeance. Twenty-five thousand unarmed people were put to the sword, and the city given up to pillage. A Carthaginian fleet, which had been sent to its relief, ravaged the coasts of Italy, and compelled some of the towns that the Romans had subdued to resume their allegiance to the African republic. The Romans perceived that their newly acquired territories could not be retained while the Carthaginians continued masters of the sea. Their own fleet was unimportant, consisting merely of a few trading vessels, plying between the port of Ostia and the sea coast towns of southern Italy. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, had an immense navy at their disposal, manned by experienced sailors and commanded by admirals who had never known defeat upon the seas. Their commercial voyages had rendered the Italian coasts familiar to their pilots, while the harbours of Africa and Sicily lay open to repair their vessels and refresh their crews.

These formidable disadvantages under which the Romans laboured, were overcome by energy and perseverance. The vast forests of the Apennines supplied them with materials for a countless fleet; and perhaps in this respect they were even better provided than their powerful rivals. Thousands of gigantic pines which for ages had defied the fury of the elements or the axe of the colonist, now yielded to the exigencies of war. In sixty days a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships were launched and provisioned: of these, one hundred were ships with five rows of oars, and twenty with three rows of oars. In strength and elegance these vessels were inferior to those produced by the experienced shipwrights of Africa; but they were provided with a mechanical contrivance which counterbalanced their defects. Grappling irons were attached to their prows, by means of which they could seize upon any vessel of the enemy and board it immediately.

Caius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Duillius, the consuls, were the first Roman generals ever intrusted with the care of a fleet. Cornelius sailed to Messana, but having fallen into a snare near the islands of Lipari, he was taken prisoner, together with his entire squadron. Duillius was more successful. When the Carthaginians, elated with their success against Cornelius, and sure of an easy victory over Duillius, attacked his fleet near Myla, B.C., 260, the *corvus* or grappling iron was plied with destructive effect against their ships by the Roman galleys. Thirty of the Carthaginian ships were taken almost immediately;—fourteen were destroyed, and the remainder saved themselves by flight. Three thousand Carthaginians were killed and seven thousand made prisoners. In some narratives, they are said to have lost eighty galleys, while the Romans did not lose a single vessel. The victory of Duillius caused much delight at Rome, where this first Roman naval battle was commemorated by a column which exists to the present day, adorned with the prows of the conquered galleys. This column is particularly interesting for an inscription, containing a specimen of the ancient dialect of Rome. Duillius,

in addition to a triumph, received the privilege from the senate, of being attended every evening at supper for the remainder of his life with torch light, and music, at the public expense,—a rare honour in those frugal days.

During two years the Romans continued to extend their dominion in Sicily. The town of Myttistratum, garrisoned by the Carthaginians, was taken after a siege of seven months, and razed to the ground, its inhabitants being either massacred or sold into slavery. A large Carthaginian army was defeated in Corsica, and Aleria, an important city in that island, fell into the hands of the Romans.

The exertions of the Romans to subdue Sicily had not as yet been crowned with complete success. The Carthaginians remained masters of a large portion of that island, and the victories obtained by the Romans were merely the reduction of revolted cities. An immense fleet of three hundred and thirty ships was fitted out and intrusted to the command of the consuls, L. Manlius and Marcus A. Regulus. They encountered, B.C., 258, the Carthaginian fleet, near Ecnomus, and gained a decisive victory, in which thirty of the enemy's ships were destroyed and sixty-four taken. The Roman generals made immediate preparations for passing over into Africa, and slighted the proposal of Hanno, one of the Carthaginian generals, who sued for peace. The Roman soldiers, fatigued with the protracted voyage, were unwilling to undertake any new campaign; but Regulus was resolved to bring the war to a crisis, and thus paved the way to his own ruin. The consuls landed in Africa in the vicinity of a town named Clypea, which they immediately occupied with their troops, carrying on predatory excursions through the surrounding country.

In the mean time Manlius was recalled from Africa, and Regulus received the entire control of the army, which was reduced, by the departure of his colleague, to about fifteen thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry;—a force manifestly too small for the subjugation of Africa. The Roman people had the greatest

confidence in the ability and courage of Regulus; but that general seems to have observed himself the critical position in which he would be shortly placed, and petitioned the senate to allow him to return, as his farm had been plundered by some runaway slaves, and he could not afford to pay for its cultivation by the hands of hirelings. The senate, on hearing of his request, decreed, that the loss he had sustained should be indemnified;—that his wife and children should be maintained, and his farm cultivated at the public expense; but that he himself should remain beneath the walls of Carthage, to vindicate the majesty of Rome. There is, nevertheless, much reason for supposing that Regulus was impressed with the vain idea of conquering Carthage, and anticipating the glory of the Scipios in after days. From the account of Polybius, we are informed that it was his own desire to remain in Africa, lest any of his successors might conclude the war which he had begun. Although the event proved fatal, his hopes might not have been completely without foundation, as the safety of Carthage depended upon the skill of a foreigner, and the issue of a single battle; but Regulus is said to have been a man of haughty and violent temper, and peculiarly oppressive towards his unfortunate prisoners of war.

In the beginning of the year, B.C., 255, Regulus commenced the African campaign by reducing the cities of Adis, Tunis, and some other important strongholds of the Carthaginians, who were further weakened by the revolt of Numidia. A remarkable circumstance signalizes this war in the narrative of Livy.—The Roman army was assailed in the neighbourhood of the river Bagradas by a gigantic serpent, which repulsed the soldiers from the water's edge, and devoured many who attempted resist it. Great numbers perished, crushed to death by the mighty folds of its tail; its skin was impene- to the points of their javelins, and it was at last with difficulty by stones shot from military Its blood dyed the waters of the river, and t^h of its putrifying carcass obliged the Roman don the territory. The Roman troops were

sight of Carthage; the terrified inhabitants were disposed to peace, but the conditions of Regulus were so degrading that the Carthaginian envoys returned without making any reply. Regulus demanded that they should surrender Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; acknowledge the supremacy of Rome; deliver up all their vessels of war, and all the Roman prisoners without ransom; pay an annual tribute to the Roman treasury, and refrain from making war without the sanction of the Roman people. In framing these conditions, which implied a state of absolute subjugation, it was evident, that Regulus preferred that they would be refused by the Carthaginians, as he would thus have an opportunity of continuing the war, and completing the reduction of the city by force rather than by capitulation.

When these conditions were announced in Carthage, sorrow and consternation reigned amongst the citizens. They had not the slightest hope of succeeding in the field, and the city must have fallen into the hands of the Romans but for the fortunate arrival of Xanthippus, a Lacedæmonian general, with a body of auxiliaries. Xanthippus was a man of talent and experience, and to him the Carthaginian senate explained the critical position of their affairs. So quickly did he perceive, and so clearly did he explain the errors and ignorance of their previous generals, that the African senate entreated him to undertake the supreme command of their armies. Xanthippus consented, and his military skill was soon made evident to the astonished Carthaginians, who viewed with wonder and delight the brilliant manœuvres executed by the troops under his directions. When he considered that military discipline had been sufficiently established, he advanced to meet the army of Regulus, B.C., 254, with about fourteen thousand foot and four thousand horse. The Romans seem at this time to have been reinforced, for their numbers doubled those of their adversaries; they despised the paucity of the Carthaginian troops, and ridiculed the audacity of Xanthippus; but the skilful Greek knew well the advantages of discipline over numbers, and proceeded with alacrity to the contest.

He posted the Carthaginian infantry in the centre of the army, covering their front by one hundred elephants; his wings were flanked by the cavalry and auxiliaries. Regulus strengthened the centre of his line against the impending onset of the elephants, but in so doing, he left his cavalry and light companies without support. After a short pause of expectation the battle commenced: the Carthaginian elephants attacked the Roman infantry, who evaded them, and assailed the mercenaries on the wings, driving them to the camp in great confusion. Their rear was, however, assailed by the Carthaginian cavalry, and the main body of the Romans, now deprived of support, was crushed beneath the feet of the elephants. The carnage soon became general. The Romans still continued to fight with desperate valour, but were overwhelmed by clouds of arrows, and completely broken by a general charge of the Carthaginian horse. A few thousands endeavoured to save themselves by flight, but were pursued and cut to pieces; the unfortunate Roman consul fell into the hands of the enemy, with five hundred prisoners. Of the Roman army none were saved except about two thousand who escaped to Clypea. Xanthippus was loaded with honours, but resolved to retire from the foreign city, before he might become exposed to the machinations of envy or national prejudice. Indeed it was asserted, that the jealousy of the Carthaginians caused him to be massacred on his voyage home;* but this story seems to have been invented by the malice of the Romans, to blacken the character of the Carthaginians, whom they were fond of accusing as a cruel and perfidious nation;—epithets to which their own conduct often entitled them in no slight degree.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

For nearly five years the war was confined to Sicily, where it was carried on by both states with great fury

* Polybius, a most candid and respectable historian does not appear to have heard this story.

and various success. This fertile island, once celebrated for its plenteous harvests and pastoral happiness, was reduced to a savage wilderness, and even still, after the lapse of twenty-one centuries, presents the indelible traces of these disastrous conflicts. The Roman fleet gained several important victories, but was twice annihilated by storms, with the loss of many thousand men. A defeat which the Carthaginians received at *Panormus* from the Roman army, under L. *Cœcilius Metellus*, induced them to sue for peace, and the captive consul, *Atilius Regulus*, was sent with the ambassadors to prevail upon the sympathy of his countrymen.

Regulus had been for five years a prisoner, yet did not allow the prospects of liberty to prevail over his sense of duty towards his country. The Carthaginians, relying on his honour, merely demanded from him a verbal promise that he would return. *Regulus*, on appearing before the senate, B.C., 249, strongly dissuaded them from the peace, and above all, from an exchange of prisoners. "Your soldiers," said he, "who have fallen into the hands of the enemy, will never return to Rome with the same pride,—the same courage with which they left it. The brand of servitude is already stamped upon them; if they are ever restored to their homes, let it be by the victorious arms of their countrymen,—by the defeat and subjugation of their foes." The senate was deeply affected at his words. On one side, resentment, honour, and national pride, impelled them to continue the war; on the other, humanity, and gratitude for past services, pleaded hard for *Regulus* and his companions. At last, the cause of patriotism prevailed;—the conditions of the Carthaginians were refused.—Not only his friends, but almost the entire Roman senate intreated *Regulus* to disregard a pledge given to so treacherous an enemy, and remain in his own country. The illustrious exile smiled at their request, and pretending that he was now suffering under the effects of a slow poison, which would soon put a period to his existence, he rejoined "his ambassadors, and returned to Carthage; of his subsequent history nothing certain is known. As there

is no mention in the Roman annals of his return to Rome, it is surmised that he died in captivity. Some Roman historians have related that on his return to Carthage, he was treated with refined cruelty, and being deprived of his sight, was put to death with the most excruciating tortures; but as there is no mention of this circumstance in Polybius—the oldest and most authentic historian of the Punic wars—we are justified in believing that the story was a mere invention of Roman malice, perhaps intended to justify the cruelty with which two unfortunate Carthaginian prisoners were treated by the wife of Regulus, until the senate were obliged, for the sake of humanity, to interfere. If Regulus merely died in captivity, he underwent no more than the ordinary chances of warfare, and perhaps deserved some punishment for his presumptuous, and often remorseless conduct;—even the glowing poetry of Horace, who laments his cruel and untimely fate, cannot persuade us to overlook the important testimonies of the historians, Zonaras and Diodorus Siculus, with reference to M. A. Regulus, and which by no means tend to increase our admiration of his character.

In the year, B.C., 250, the consuls, C. Atilius and L. Manlius Vulso laid siege to Lilybæum, an important promontory and fort on the south-western coast of Sicily. The garrison offered a determined opposition, and the Romans contented themselves with blockading the entrance to the harbour, and endeavouring to reduce the place by famine;—in this they had nearly succeeded, when their lines were suddenly broken by a Carthaginian admiral named Hannibal, who succeeded in relieving the fortress. The besieged ventured upon a *sortie*, and made several desperate efforts on the land side to burn the Roman works, but were finally repulsed with considerable loss. Hamilcar, the governor of the fortress, retired within the walls, and Hannibal contrived during the night to escape the vigilance of the Roman admiral, and returned to Carthage in safety. What the courage of the besieged had attempted in vain was effected by an accident: A high wind having commenced to blow in the direction of the Roman

camp, the Carthaginian soldiers collected an immense quantity of combustible materials, which they ignited and launched with effective precision against the military engines of the enemy. The conflagration spread with great rapidity, and the Romans, stifled with the clouds of smoke which blew in their faces, were obliged to suffer their engines to be consumed before their eyes. The siege was again converted into a blockade; but the obstinacy of the garrison offered little hope to the Romans of ultimate success. In the year, B.C., 248, the consul, P. Clandius Pulcher, attempted to surprise the Carthaginian fleet, then lying at Drepanum, under the command of Adherbal. The vigilant Carthaginian admiral perceived the approach of his adversary, and prepared for action. The Romans, who arrived early in the morning, that they might take the enemy unawares, sailed towards the harbour, but were almost instantly engaged by the Carthaginians and completely defeated; ninety-three vessels were taken or destroyed, together with their crews; and P. C. Pulcher, who escaped, attended by thirty ships, was summoned by the senate to render an account of his conduct, instead of endeavouring to propitiate his countrymen, justly exasperated at his recklessness and presumption, he insulted the senate, who had ordered him to resign his command and appoint a dictator; but P. C. Pulcher, to show his contempt of the senate, resigned his command, and appointed the son of a freedman as dictator. The conscript fathers, enraged at such conduct, revoked that appointment, and impeached P. C. Pulcher of high treason, but the trial was interrupted by a storm, and does not seem to have been ever renewed.

HAMILCAR, FATHER OF HANNIBAL.

The Carthaginians had now recovered their ascendancy in Sicily, and their forces being commanded by the great Hamilcar Barca,* the father of the still more celebrated Hannibal, they gained many advantages

* Barca or lightning.

over the Roman armies. Hamilcar fortified a strong position in Mount Eryx, in Sicily, where he harrassed the Romans incessantly for a period of about two years, and for five years more the war was sustained with great energy. The Romans, wearied of this protracted warfare, resolved to make a vigorous effort to bring it to a conclusion, and in the year, B.C., 242, fitted out a fleet of two hundred galleys, under the command of C. Lutatius Catulus. The Carthaginians do not seem to have expected any contest on the seas, and their fleet was hastily and irregularly equipped. An engagement took place off the promontory of Eryx, near the *Ægæan* islands, (*Maretina*, *Lavanzo*, and *Favignana*), in which the Carthaginians were defeated, B.C., 241, with the loss of one hundred and eighty-three vessels and forty-eight thousand men. This was the last effort of the Carthaginians, who now sued for peace, which they were obliged to accept on the following severe conditions, dictated by Catulus:—"There shall be peace between Rome and Carthage on the following conditions, if approved of by the Roman people: the Carthaginians shall evacuate Sicily, and refrain from war against Hiero, king of Syracuse, or his allies; they shall restore to the Roman people all the prisoners they have taken, and without ransom; they shall pay, within twenty years, two thousand two hundred Euboic talents of silver."* These conditions were sent to Rome, where the following alterations were made: the time for payment was reduced to ten years, and one thousand talents added. The Carthaginians were moreover obliged to surrender all the islands lying between Italy and Sicily. The amended treaty was signed by Hamilcar and agreed to by the dejected Carthaginian senate. The first Punic war was thus concluded after a struggle of twenty-four years. The losses on both sides were immense, and nearly equal until the decisive battle off Mount Eryx. Although the Romans gained possession of Sicily, they obtained it as a blackened wilderness. The richer order of its

* About £515,000.

inhabitants had mostly retired from the island at the commencement of the war, and a large portion of the poor had been massacred or sold into slavery during its progress. The Romans converted it into a province,—the administration of its government was intrusted to an annual magistrate, entitled *prætor* or *pro-consul*, and the inhabitants were obliged to pay tithes, from the produce of the soil, to the Roman treasury.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Roman dependencies after the First Punic War.—The Gauls again invade Italy.—The Carthaginians in Spain.—Hannibal—his Character.—Death of Asdrubal.—Hannibal elected to Supreme Command.—Saguntum—Fall of.

For a period of more than ten years from the conclusion of the first Punic war, the Roman commonwealth was engaged in recovering from the losses she had sustained, and completing the subjugation of her dearly acquired territories. Sardinia, which had revolted while the Carthaginians were engaged in a war of extermination with their rebellious mercenaries in Africa, was treacherously seized on by the Romans, and the exhausted Punic commonwealth was obliged to relinquish this important dependency, rather than renew the war with Rome.

Illyricum, that country lying on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, opposite to Italy, and north of Greece, was now, B.C., 229, governed by queen Teuta. The Illyrians were pirates by profession, and had carried on their depredations to a great extent upon the Greeks, whose power and greatness had for some time passed away; besides, the former had taken possession of a considerable portion of Western Greece, which the sons of Hellas were no longer in a condition to defend. In their piratical roving, the Illyrians had plundered a Roman vessel, and carried off the sailors as slaves.

For this aggression, the Romans sent plenipotentiaries to demand immediate restitution, and a cessation from such unjust uncivilized practices. Teuta replied, that for the future no Romans should be molested either on the seas or in her dominions by land; but that her subjects were poor and had no other mode of supporting themselves, therefore she could not interfere in their private concerns. One of the Roman ambassadors answered, that imperial Rome was the avenger of injustice, whether committed against herself or all weaker powers, and therefore insisted that the piratical courses of the Illyrians should be discontinued,—an answer which enraged the queen so much that she caused the ambassadors to be basely murdered on their return home. For this outrage, a Roman fleet was at once despatched against the Illyrians, who were easily subdued, and deprived of a considerable portion of their territory by the conquerors. So great was the benefit derived by the Grecian states, from the suppression of these freebooters, that the Romans were presented by the Athenians with the freedom of their city, and by the Corinthians with the right of contending at the Isthmian games, in honour of Posidon or Neptune.*

Three years after the conclusion of the Illyrian war, Rome was thrown into consternation by the terrible intelligence that a vast swarm of Celtic and Insubrian Gauls had crossed the Alps and were descending into Italy. An immense army was levied, and the horrible expedient of human sacrifices was adopted to avert the impending calamity. Two Gaulish and two Grecian captives—a male and female of each—were buried alive in the *Forum Boarium*, or cattle market, by the advice of an oracle in the Sibylline books. The Gauls plundered Arminium, on the north-eastern coast of Italy, and proceeded to Etruria, which suffered terribly at their hands. The Romans encountered them near Clusium; but, falling into an ambush, they were repulsed with considerable loss. This reverse was, however, soon avenged by the consul, C. Atilius, who

* See Note C.

gained a complete victory over the Gauls at Pisa, where more than forty thousand of them were slain. And in the year, B.C., 223, they again suffered a fatal defeat under the swords of the Romans, when they were obliged to sue for peace and own the sovereignty of Rome. By this victory the latter became masters of all the pleasant plains of Lombardy, and to which they gave the name of Cisalpine Gaul, to distinguish it from Transalpine Gaul, which lay *beyond* the Alps.

THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN.

During a period of twenty years, the Carthaginians had been actively engaged in extending their dominions in Spain, which they hoped would recompense them for the loss of Sardinia and Sicily. Hamilcar Barca, who had been general-in-chief of the Carthaginian forces during the close of the first Punic war, was a man of consummate ability and prudence. Rejecting those principles of despotic government which are so generally applied to subjugated states, Hamilcar, by a policy of open benevolence and secret diplomacy, conciliated to the interests of his country the affections of the chiefs amongst the Celtic tribes of Spain. The invidious distinctions of race, so galling to a people who find themselves inferior in civilization to their conquerors, were abolished. The Carthaginian settlers were allowed to intermarry with the Spanish aborigines, and these ties of affinity often supplied the Punic armies with large numbers of native troops, who did not hesitate to serve against such of their countrymen as rejected the Carthaginian yoke, and endeavoured to maintain their *savage* independence.

HANNIBAL.

On the death of Hamilcar, which occurred, B.C., 229, the supreme command of the Carthaginian armies in Spain devolved upon his son-in-law, Asdrubal, who pursued with success the policy of his predecessor; and after a few years, wrote to Carthage that Hannibal,

the son of Hamilcar, then a youth, might be sent to the army and learn the rudiments of war under the successor of his father. This future scourge of Italy, when a boy of nine years old, had been brought by his father to the altar, where he swore eternal enmity to the Roman name, and promised that at the first opportunity, he would break the oppressive treaty which dire necessity had imposed upon his countrymen. On the arrival of the young Hannibal at the camp of Asdrubal, the veteran soldiers recognized in the youthful Hannibal the voice, the gait, the very features of Hamilcar; nor were the qualities of his mind inferior to those of his illustrious parent. He was endowed with those gifts which are alike essential to the humblest soldier or the highest officer in command: he was able to endure the extremes of heat and cold; no labour of the mind or body was too severe for his achievement. From his earliest years, he rendered himself familiar with those manly exercises which form the education of a soldier; he excelled his companions in the race or the gauntlet; he slept but little, and that little amid the turmoil of a camp, or wrapped in his military cloak he would repose by the fires of the out-posts. In person he was eminently handsome, nor did the numerous avocations of war cause him to neglect the cultivation of his mind. He was well versed in the Greek language, which he spoke with fluency, (and in which he composed some works on *military tactics**) and his eloquence often prevailed over the despondency of his troops or the domestic factions of the Carthaginian senate. Of his moral character, two very different accounts have reached us: Livy, the historian of his enemies, has described him as a man devoid of all feelings of justice, incapable of good faith, and regardless of all principles of religion or clemency. Polybius, an earlier and more impartial authority, has painted the great Carthaginian general in more pleasing colours, and there is no doubt that Livy's description is tainted by national prejudice. The habits of Hannibal were

* Perhaps in the Doric dialect. His preceptor was a Lacedæmonian named Salsius.

extremely temperate, and he might have often enriched himself with the spoils of conquered cities; unquestionably, many cruel acts were committed by his soldiers during the second Punic war; but in this we find no exception from the ordinary conduct of military chiefs; nor is it always easy, even for a man of humane disposition, to check the carnage committed by troops flushed with victory, and exasperated by toil and resistance. In such cases it is often difficult, after the lapse of years, to determine whether a general is deserving of praise or censure. However, the enemies of Hannibal have not ventured to deny, that he often procured an honourable burial for the bodies of such Roman officers as had fallen upon the field of battle.

This distinguished man had served for some years under the command of Asdrubal, with mutual satisfaction to himself and his superiors, when a circumstance occurred which removed him to a higher sphere.—The servant of a Celtic chief, whom Asdrubal had put to death, watched his opportunity to assassinate that general in his tent. Before the guards of Asdrubal could render their master any assistance, the fatal blow had been struck, and the Carthaginian army was without a leader. The assassin was seized, and put to the torture, which he bore with indifference, laughing loudly at the idea of having accomplished his revenge.

HANNIBAL GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.

The eyes of the entire army were now turned on Hannibal, and his election to the supreme command was ratified by a decree of the Carthaginian senate. Hannibal was now in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and immediately resolved to carry into execution his long-cherished designs against Rome. Saguntum, (Sagunto) a city on the west coast of Spain, had been specially exempted from the authority of Carthage by a treaty with Rome. As it formed a frontier city of the Roman territory, Hannibal considered that by reducing it he would immediately cause a war with Rome; for that purpose he commenced an expedition against some

Spanish tribes, whose possessions lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Saguntum. The inhabitants of that city quickly perceived his design, and applied for protection to the Roman senate. As they had not yet been regularly besieged, the affair caused some discussion, and it was finally decreed that envoys should be sent to Hannibal, to warn him from any hostilities against the allies of the Roman people; that in case of a refusal, they should proceed from thence to Carthage, and lay the object of their mission before the African senate.

Intelligence of this expected embassy was conveyed to Hannibal, who immediately formed the siege of Saguntum, which was vigorously and obstinately defended. The Roman ambassadors *in the mean time* arrived on the coast, but received a message from Hannibal, warning them of the dangers they would incur in attempting to pass through the territories of so many savage tribes; adding, with haughty indifference, that he was at present too much otherwise engaged to attend to their demands. The ambassadors with much indignation then proceeded to Carthage, where, however, they did not meet with more satisfaction, as the party of Hannibal there happened to prevail. Hanno, an old antagonist of Hamilcar, indeed advised that Hannibal should be delivered up to the Romans, saying, that the ruins of Saguntum would fall upon their own heads; but this opinion was deemed the effects of malice and hereditary feud. To the complaints of the Roman embassy, the Carthaginian senate gave an evasive answer; the ambassadors returned to Rome, where much time was lost in fruitless discussions on this important subject.

FALL OF SAGUNTUM.

For nearly eight months, B.C., 219, the siege of Saguntum had been pressed by the indefatigable zeal of Hannibal; but its walls were still as fiercely defended by its inhabitants, who hourly expected the arrival of relief from Rome. All the military science of attack and defence was exhausted in this protracted

conflict; but the city walls had suffered severely from the engines of the Carthaginians. The citizens still continued to occupy the breaches with armed men during the day, and repair them by ceaseless labour during the dead of night; still their ranks were thinned by exhaustion, or the weapons of the enemy, and their last hopes of assistance from Rome had now given place to despair. A generous soldier, named Alorcus, in the service of Hannibal, who had on one occasion been treated with much kindness by the inhabitants of Saguntum, resolved to induce them to surrender, and thus save themselves from the inevitable consequences of any prolonged resistance. He was admitted into the city, where he informed the inhabitants that the following conditions would be granted them by Hannibal:—they should surrender the city, and depart with their wives and children to another place; but without their property. The Saguntines listened to these propositions in silence, and retired as if for the purpose of deliberating upon a reply. On reaching their homes, they collected all their property, which they heaped in one vast pile in the market place, and having kindled it, they threw themselves into the flames. At this very moment, a general assault was made by the Carthaginians, who instantly scaled the deserted ramparts and gained possession of the city. All the inhabitants who had declined to perish by their own hands were put to the sword, and immense plunder was obtained by the triumphant Carthaginians.

The news of the destruction of Saguntum caused a tumult of grief and indignation at Rome, mingled with self-reproach at having suffered their faithful allies to fall into the hands of a cruel and ferocious enemy. Every preparation was now made for war, and a last embassy despatched to Carthage. After some equivocation on the part of the Carthaginian senate with regard to the terms of the former treaty, the Roman legate folded his robe, and addressing the Carthaginians, said,—“I bring you either peace or war; choose whichever you please.” The senators replied, that they left the choice with him.—“I give you war, then,” said the Roman,

unfolding his robe, and the Carthaginians with loud shouts said that they accepted it, and would carry it on in the same spirit. The ambassadors immediately left Carthage and proceeded to Spain, where they endeavoured to induce the Spanish chiefs to resist the progress of Hannibal. Their proposals were received with shouts of laughter by the Celtic tribes, who terrified the Roman ambassadors by the glitter of their drawn weapons, and told them with derision, to seek for allies in some place where the fate of Saguntum was not known. The envoys in much alarm hastened homeward, where instant preparations were made for war. The character of Hannibal for skill and enterprise was well known to the Romans, who soon perceived that they were on the verge of the greatest struggle they had yet undergone.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Second Punic War.—March of Hannibal.—Passage of the Rhone.—Passage of the Alps.—Hannibal in Italy.—Battles at the Ticinus—the Trebia.—Lake of Trasymene.—Consternation at Rome.—Battle of Cannæ.—Probable reasons why Hannibal did not now march on Rome.—Mago sent to Carthage.—State of Rome after the battle of Cannæ.

After the fall of Saguntum, Hannibal retired for the winter to Carthage, where he endeavoured to refresh his soldiers after their long campaign, and at the same time to excite in them the desire of foreign conquest. "Spain is now subdued," said he, "and our gallant army must be either disbanded or marched to some other country in quest of new triumphs. To veteran troops like you, I need hardly say, that the latter will be the more grateful—the more honourable alternative. Be prepared, therefore, for a long and distant war. Retire to your homes, and during the winter months refresh yourselves with repose amidst your families; but return early in

the spring, that our glorious enterprise may, with the assistance of the gods, be speedily commenced." His commands were punctually obeyed, and his soldiers, who placed unbounded reliance on his fortune and experience, returned to a man to serve beneath the standard of their victorious general. Before commencing his march, he proceeded to Gades (*Cádiz*), where he paid his vows to Hercules, the tutelar deity of the place; his next care was to divide the troops in such a manner that neither Spain or Africa should have any reason to fear the arms of the Romans during his absence. Forty thousand troops were left in Africa, and fifteen thousand that remained in Spain were intrusted to the care of his brother, Asdrubal; while he himself commenced his expedition against Rome, in the spring of the year, B.C., 218, with about ninety thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and forty elephants. He subdued in his progress such of the Spanish tribes as had revolted; but, on arriving at the foot of the Pyrenees, three thousand Spanish troops turned on their track and commenced a return homewards. Hannibal saw the difficulty of attempting to check their retreat, and dreading the effects of any subsequent meeting, he gave permission to seven thousand Spanish soldiers to return home, at the same time, pretending that the others had retired in compliance with his orders. He passed the Pyrenees without any further difficulty, and descended into Gaul, where he informed the chiefs of that country, that it was not his intention to draw the sword until he should have reached Italy, and thus prevented any delay which they might have otherwise offered to his progress. He now advanced without interruption to the banks of the Rhone, which were guarded by the Gauls. The army exerted itself without intermission in framing boats and rafts, in which labour they were assisted by the inhabitants of the place, who were desirous to be freed from the incumbrance of so vast a host. Hannibal, fearing lest his troops might be thrown into disorder on their landing, by any sudden onset of the Gauls, before they would have time to form in line of

battle, detached a large body of men under the command of Hanno, son of Bomilcar, whom he ordered to march up the river to a certain ford, during the night, which they crossed, and arrived on the flank of the Gaulish camp before break of day. When the light was sufficient, the main body of the Carthaginian army began the passage of the Rhone, embarking in thousands of boats; their shouts and the noise of the waters scared the Gauls who occupied the opposite bank. These at first made some opposition to the landing of the Carthaginians; but being suddenly assailed by Hanno on their rear, and perceiving their camp to be on fire, fled in confusion, and the remainder of the Punic army crossed the river in safety; the elephants occasioned considerable embarrassment, as they could not be induced to tread upon any of the rafts. An ingenious contrivance removed this difficulty: a large raft was constructed and covered with clay, which deceived these formidable animals, until their guides had time to unloose its moorings;—some of the more intractable elephants, plunged into the water, and reached the shore in safety. Hannibal having passed the Rhone, despatched five hundred Numidian cavalry to reconnoitre the position of the Roman army under P. Scipio, who, finding that Hannibal had already passed the Pyrenees, had advanced to meet him in the neighbourhood of the Rhone. These soldiers were met by three hundred Roman horse, and a brisk skirmish took place, in which the Numidians were repulsed with the loss of two hundred men, and the Romans left one hundred and sixty upon the field. This trifling conflict was looked upon by the Romans as an omen of the war, in which they should at last obtain a dearly-earned victory. Hannibal was yet hesitating whether he should continue his expedition against Rome, as his soldiers were dispirited at the idea of crossing the lofty regions of the Alps, when the fortunate arrival of some Gaulish envoys from Italy, inspired them with new hopes and confidence.

Hannibal, seizing this opportunity to rebuke the apathy of his soldiers, and praise the fidelity and valour

of the Gauls, said,—“It appears strange to me, that the lightest of our labours should strike you with the most dismay. Are you not the same troops who toiled with me for eight months in reducing the city of Saguntum—for years, in the subjugation of Spain? What expedition is it in which we are now engaged?—the destruction of Rome,—the liberation of Europe,—the possession of that wealth acquired during centuries of conquest, by the armies of Rome! Have we no other reasons to urge us forward?—Have we forgotten the disgrace of Carthage, or the treachery of the Romans; or is all our journey yet to be completed? No, truly; for the greatest obstacles have been already overcome. Do you now hesitate—at the foot of the Alps—the frontier wall of Italy! You have crossed the Pyrenees; cannot you figure to your imaginations a still loftier range of mountains? Trust me, there are no hills so high that cannot be overcome by the energy of man; nor was it by the help of wings that our Gaulish allies have crossed those redoubted Alps, which are, moreover, cultivated and inhabited. That Rome which fell before the arms of the uncivilized and tumultuous hordes of Gaul, may well succumb to the power and perseverance of the Carthaginians.” His soldiers, excited by these words, and by the hopes of Italian conquests, prepared for the passage of these stupendous mountains;—an achievement only twice performed by an armed host in after times, but who have never excelled the fame of Hannibal.*

PASSAGE OF THE ALPS.

The prospect of the Alps was sufficient to damp the most ardent courage. In addition to gigantic precipices and ravines filled with perpetual snows, the Carthaginians found that their passage would be opposed by the mountaineers, who, dreading the destruction of their winter stock of provisions by this vast host, were resolved to oppose them. Hannibal per-

* Charlemagne and Bonaparte.

ceiving that his army (in this critical position) might be annihilated by a mere handful of men; sounded a halt, and during the night his Gaulish guides learned from these peasants that the mountaineers were in the habit of abandoning their post at evening and to which they did not return until break of day. The Carthaginians took advantage of this circumstance, to effect the passage of a considerable portion of their army during the night, the mountaineers having been deceived by the kindling of a large number of fires, round which they imagined their enemies would have encamped; but on returning to the heights at day-break, they found their position already occupied by the Carthaginians, and, furious at this deception, they commenced a general attack, in which the soldiers of Hannibal, unacquainted with the localities, and unused to the barbarous warfare of the mountaineers, sustained some severe losses, especially amongst their cavalry and beasts of burden. The sagacity of the elephants seems to have guided them through these difficulties in safety, although many must have perished by the cold. The Alpine peasants now abandoned open resistance, but occasioned much confusion by several ambuscades in which a large portion of the Carthaginian baggage was destroyed. The immense falls of snow, the avalanches that constantly rushed upon their heads, burying whole ranks beneath an inextricable mass, struck the soldiers with terror and despair. Their path was becoming daily worse and worse. The treacherous snow, assuming the appearance of solid ground, often lured them to the edge of some fatal precipice, and as their feet constantly slipped upon the smooth inclining ice, they had no branches or roots of trees to grasp and save themselves from inevitable destruction. Hannibal caused his troops to advance towards a lofty cliff from whose heights a distant prospect of the plains of Italy met the view. "Are you not willing," he exclaimed, "to undergo these,—nay, even greater difficulties for the sake of such a glorious recompense? Once let us reach the level plain, and one or two battles at the most must place this country within our grasp." A

few days more brought the Carthaginian army to the last defiles of the Alps, and with unfeigned delight they rushed into the level fields, spreading themselves over the face of the country. The passage of the Alps had occupied about fifteen days; but during that time many thousands of the Punic army had perished; and when Hannibal entered Italy, he had no more than about twenty thousand foot, and six thousand cavalry. Five months had been occupied in the march from Carthage to the plains of Turin, a distance, (according to the calculation of Polybius,) of eight thousand furlongs, or one thousand miles.*

HANNIBAL IN ITALY.

The progress of Hannibal through Italy caused great alarm amongst the Romans, who had not anticipated his triumph over the dangers of the Alps. The consul, P. Cornelius Scipio, crossing the Po, met the Carthaginian army encamped on the river Ticinus (Ticino). An engagement being now inevitable, the generals of both armies made every exertion to inspire their respective troops with hope and confidence. Scipio spoke with much contempt of the Carthaginian soldiers, exhausted by the passage of the Alps, and presenting the appearance of ghosts rather than of men, saying that it would be almost a disgrace to contend with such miserable enemies, reminding the Romans at the same time, of the victory which he had obtained over the Carthaginians on the banks of the Rhone, and their own brilliant achievements in the first Punic war. Hannibal made use of a singular and effective expedient to rouse the warlike spirit of his soldiers. He ordered some Gaulish prisoners, captured during the passage of the Alps, to be brought forward, and offered to them to contend with each other by pairs in single

* I have not alluded to the popular story of Hannibal having obtained for himself a passage through the rocks, by heating them to redness, and casting vinegar on them, which caused them to split asunder. Even Livy, so enamoured of the marvellous, is not inclined to believe it.

combat, promising unconditional freedom to the survivors. This proposal was received with joy by the Gauls, and the Carthaginian soldiers watched with deep interest the issue of these conflicts, applauding alike the happy victor, and the vanquished, who defended his life so valiantly. Hannibal seized this opportunity to allude to his own position. "You have displayed," said he, "much interest in the contests of these Gauls. Let us reflect, whether we can apply the moral to ourselves. These barbarian prisoners in our power, seeing no prospect of escape, willingly engaged in a contest from which few have retired with their lives. Are we not also inclosed on every side, with no road open to us, but that which we shall effect by the edge of the sword. Here, soldiers, we must conquer or perish! We have no communication with the sea,—the Alps forbid our return. Here must we avenge the loss of Sicily and Sardinia. You have been long employed in tending flocks upon the savage mountains of Spain and Lusitania (*Portugal*),—you must now seek out for yourselves a nobler object of ambition—a richer recompense for your toils. Do not, I intreat you, fear the mighty shadow of the Roman name! You have been trained in no ordinary school of warfare; you have borne your victorious arms from the ocean and the pillars of Hercules to these distant lands, opposed alike in your progress by the fury of the elements and the hostility of man. Who are your opponents now?—an army unacquainted with its general,—a general in total ignorance of his army! Remove the standards from both hosts, and I will venture to say, that he will confound his antagonists with his countrymen. Has it been so with us, soldiers?—You all have seen me many and many a time fighting in your foremost ranks;—still oftener have I witnessed and rewarded your own valour;—nay, there are even few amongst you whom I do not know by name, and of whom I could not enumerate some gallant achievement.

"It is true, my friends, we have undertaken a long and perilous campaign; that we are now far distant

from our native country; that many days of battle, many nights of fatigue, must be endured before a weary remnant of us may return to behold once more their children and their wives; this is all true. But the war was inevitable; nor do I think that when toil and danger are to be endured, that you would shrink from the task of defending the homes and hearths of your fellow-countrymen. This haughty republic, against which we are now preparing to contend, seeks to exterminate us from the face of the earth; already has it deprived us of our just possessions in Sicily and Sardinia. It would now wrest Spain, nay, even Africa, from our hands. They demand that I should be given up to be punished with excruciating tortures, and an ignominious death, because I have dared to besiege Saguntum. The senate refuse;—What then? An army is sent to Spain, another to Africa, as if to prove to us, that on our arms alone depends the very existence of our commonwealth. To arms, then, with courage; and let each man exert himself as if on him alone depended the issue of the conflict."

BATTLE OF THE TICINUS.

Scipio crossed the Ticinus by means of a bridge, and fortified a small eminence in its neighbourhood to cover his retreat in case of any reverse. He drew up his army, posting the light armed troops in the front and a body of Gaulish cavalry on the wings. At the first onset, the Roman light troops were routed by the Carthaginian cavalry, and retiring on the centre of Scipio's heavy armed troops, they occasioned much confusion. A furious conflict then ensued between the main bodies of both armies, until the Romans, being taken in flank by the Numidian cavalry, were completely routed, and pursued for a considerable distance. Scipio led back a large portion of his troops in good order, retiring across the bridge, which he broke down to avoid pursuit; but he himself had received a great wound in the battle, and was with difficulty rescued by the piety of his son, afterwards the celebrated Scipio

Africanus. The number of soldiers lost in this battle is not known. Scipio retired in the neighbourhood of the Po, and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been engaged in an expedition against Africa, was recalled by the senate, and arriving at Arminium, marched in the direction of Placentia, pitching his camp on the banks of the Trebia, a broad but shallow tributary of the Po, which has since been often memorable in the history of Italy. Hannibal, who had gained many important accessions from the Gauls on account of his victory at the Ticinus, was extremely anxious for another engagement; and learning that Sempronius was a man of fiery and ungovernable temper, prepared a stratagem by means of which he hoped to allure him to a conflict. He caused Mago to lie in ambush with a considerable body of men, between the banks of a deep rivulet, near the Roman camp, but completely concealed by the surrounding brushwood. A party of Numidians now crossed the Trebia at day-break, and made a desultory attack on the Roman camp. Sempronius immediately sent his cavalry in pursuit of the enemy, who retired across the river; the Romans proceeded to ford the Trebia. The weather was piercingly cold, attended with a slight fall of snow, and by the time that the Romans had reached the Carthaginian army, they were completely exhausted with cold and fatigue. The soldiers of Hannibal were fresh and well prepared; here a desperate struggle ensued, in which the Romans might have gained the advantage but for the sudden appearance of the Carthaginian troops under Mago, when the former were completely routed, none escaping but a body of about ten thousand men, who by a great effort forced their way to Placentia. The result of this disastrous conflict was as far as possible concealed from the Roman people, who, learning that a large body of men were still in safety at Placentia, supposed their loss at the Trebia to be comparatively trivial. The weather, which became very tempestuous, prevented Hannibal from pursuing the retreating Romans, or reaping any decisive advantage from his victory.

For a considerable period after the battle of the

Trebia, the Punic army underwent great hardships in the passage of the Apennines, which nearly proved as disastrous as the Alps. Large numbers of the soldiers perished amongst the mountains, of cold and fatigue, while the incessant fall of snow prevented them from kindling or maintaining the necessary fires. For two days they were thus detained in the greatest misery, and when they at last descended into the level plain, they found that many of their beasts of burden, including seven elephants, had perished on the road. With the exception of some trifling skirmishes, hostilities were suspended for the remainder of the winter.

C. FLAMINIUS.

Early in the year B.C. 217, the consul, C. Flaminius, a man of much inconsiderate courage, and too impetuous in his undertakings, received the command of the Roman army, and proceeded to Arminium. Hannibal, on hearing of his approach, immediately commenced a dangerous march through a vast swamp formed by the river Anio, near Arretium, in Tuscany. This expedition lasted for three days, during which time many of his Gaulish soldiers, unaccustomed to these labours, were suffocated in the water; and Hannibal lost one of his eyes, from the unhealthy nature of the place; his object, was, however, attained. The consul, on hearing of the departure of the Carthaginians, pursued their track, and overtook them in the neighbourhood of Clusium, on the direct road to Rome. Fesulæ, where Hannibal was now encamped, was reckoned amongst the most fertile spots in Italy, and the wily Carthaginian began to plunder and burn the surrounding country, solely for the purpose of exasperating Flaminius, at the same time continuing his march in the direction of Rome. On arriving in that locality where the mountains of Cortona surround the lake of Thrasymene as with a vast amphitheatre, the experienced eye of Hannibal perceived, in this dangerous defile, a snare from which valour would be of little avail to rescue an army once lured within its confines. By accident or

design. He immediately proceeded in the direction of the lake, which he kept on his right, and ordered a large body of his troops to occupy the surrounding heights; the remainder were drawn up in line of battle upon the plain. Flaminius, who perceived only this portion of the Carthaginian army, entered the defile without observing the soldiers of Hannibal on the heights, as the light was very indistinct, and the mountains were enveloped in a dense fog. The Romans had advanced about midway through the valley, B.C., 217, when they were suddenly assailed in front, flank, and rear. In the meantime the fog had settled heavily upon the plain; and the soldiers of Flaminius heard the shouts of the enemy without knowing from what quarter they were to expect the assault, or whither they should turn to defend themselves. All was now disorder and confusion. Flaminius exerted himself with amazing energy to rally and organize his astounded soldiers. Amidst the terrific uproar, and the clash of weapons, his voice was long heard, exhorting, threatening, and commanding the troops to press vigorously forward, as their only hope of escape. But their ranks had been entirely broken; they were separated on all sides from their standards and their officers. At last despair and indignation inspired them with new courage. The conflict was renewed with redoubled fury, and so intense was the animosity of the combatants, that they did not perceive an earthquake, which at that very moment was laying in ruins the principal cities throughout Italy. The combat had lasted for three hours, when Flaminius was slain by an Insubrian Gaul, and the Roman army, which, until then, had defended itself with desperate courage, was completely routed. Large numbers were ridden down by the Carthaginian cavalry, or perished in the lake. Fifteen thousand Romans fell in this memorable battle, and six thousand, who had cut their way through the ranks of the enemy, were taken prisoners on the ensuing day. Hannibal caused a search to be made for the remains of Flaminius, to give it honourable burial; but the search was vain, the body of the consul was nowhere to be found.

The news of this terrible defeat quickly arrived at Rome, and many rumours were circulated through the excited populace, until the prætor, M. Pomponius, ascended the rostrum, about sunset, and pronounced the following words, "We have lost a great battle." The streets were filled with the cries and lamentations of those who had relatives in the war; and many even expired with joy at the arrival of those friends whom they believed either slain, or in the hands of the enemy. The general consternation was still further increased by the intelligence, that a detachment of four thousand men, sent by the consul, Cn. Servilius, to assist Flaminius, had been totally destroyed in Umbria, by the troops of Hannibal. Q. Fabius Maximus was immediately appointed dictator, being a man of great prudence and experience, while his dilatory and cautious system of military tactics, rendered him particularly adapted to contend with Hannibal, who dreaded nothing more than delay. The latter, after his victory at Thrasy-mene, proceeded to Spoletum, which he besieged in vain; conjecturing, from this circumstance, that an attack on Rome would be attended with still greater difficulties, he resolved to unite, if possible, the Latin states into one great confederacy against the Roman commonwealth. He next proceeded in the direction of Picenum, and the territories of Apulia, spreading havoc and desolation through the surrounding country. Fabius avoided a general engagement, and continued to follow the track of Hannibal, but invariably pitching his tents amid the lofty mountains that lay in his line of observation; a system of tactics which he justly believed would secure him from the fate of Flaminius, and enable Rome to recover from her reiterated misfortunes. A mistake on the part of the Carthaginian guides had nearly proved fatal to the army of Hannibal. Directions were given to proceed towards Casinum, but the guide, mistaking the word, led the troops towards Casilinum, a small town which Fabius had recently strongly fortified. Hannibal at once perceived the perils of his situation, being completely enclosed by the Romans, who occupied the level plain.

and the lofty mountains of Callicula. Fabius, regarding the Carthaginians as completely in his power, delayed the battle until the ensuing day. Hannibal resolved, in the meantime, to rescue himself from inevitable destruction. He collected two thousand horned cattle, and having fastened bundles of brushwood to their horns, set fire to these inflammable materials, and caused the animals to be driven in the direction of the hills. The Romans, imagining that the Carthaginians were endeavouring to effect their escape by torch-light, quitted their post to oppose their passage. By this time the fire had reached the flesh of the animals, when the creatures, smarting with pain, ran madly in every direction. Fabius, confounded at this singular spectacle, did not suffer his soldiers to stir from their position. The Carthaginians in the meantime effected their escape, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Allifoe.

M. MINUCIUS.

The system pursued by Fabius had many enemies in the Roman senate; and M. Minucius, his master of horse, a man of great confidence in his own abilities, took every opportunity of disparaging the conduct of his superior in the presence of his soldiers. "Are we here," he would exclaim in the hearing of the troops, "for the purpose of beholding our allies exterminated by the sword of Hannibal? Do we not on all sides survey the smoke of burning villages?—do we not on all sides hear the cries of their unhappy inmates, fruitlessly invoking our assistance? What precedent have we for this strange inaction? None whatever. Our ancestors never slumbered upon the track of an enemy; it was by courage and activity they raised our commonwealth to glory; not by these slothful counsels, which the timid term wisdom, but the brave, pusillanimity!" An inconsiderable advantage which this Minucius had obtained over the troops of Hannibal, near the village Geronium, during the absence of Fabius, inflated the vanity of the former to such a degree, that he trans-

mitted an exaggerated account of his success to Rome. Fabius, on hearing of the victory of Minucius, said that he did not believe this statement, and even hoped that it was untrue, as that such a victory would prove the destruction of the Roman army. His remarks were received by the people with much disapprobation, and attributed to jealousy. The tribune, M. Metilius, complained that the abilities of Minucius were fettered by the caprice of Fabius, and proposed a law, that for the future, the master of horse should be raised to equal authority with the dictator—a measure of which we find no other example in Roman history. This singular proposition was received with universal applause; and Fabius, dreading lest the entire army might be lost through the folly of Minucius, proposed that the army should be equally divided. Minucius agreed; and Hannibal perceived, with much delight, that the two armies occupied separate camps, but within each other's view. Having placed a large body of troops in ambush, near the Roman camp, he provoked Minucius to an engagement; and the Roman army, almost completely surrounded, must have perished, had not Fabius marched immediately to their assistance, and repulsed the Carthaginians from their prey. Hannibal, who had never before contended with Fabius in the field, was heard to remark, "that the cloud, so long hovering over the mountains, had at last burst in thunder on their heads."* On the return of the Romans to their camp, Minucius summoned his soldiers to his presence, and addressed them as follows:—"I have often heard, soldiers, that, as the highest honour belongs to him who proposes what is beneficial to the general welfare, so also, the second praise belongs to him who complies with readiness to the behests of his superiors. The gods have denied me the first, let me endeavour to obtain the inferior merit. We must join our camp with that of Fabius; we must salute his soldiers as our deliverers and benefactors; and I, for my part, will surrender into his hands that authority which I no longer deserve to exercise." His

* Fabius used to encamp on the hills, which Hannibal called "a cloud on the mountains."

orders were complied with : Fabius received Minucius and his soldiers with affectionate hospitality ; the cavils of his enemies at Rome were silenced, and the honourable title of "the Waverer" (Cunctator) was bestowed upon him, to commemorate that military policy by which he had prostrated the designs of Hannibal, and saved the Roman army from destruction. Fabius soon after resigned his dictatorship. In the year, B.C., 216, the consuls, L. Æmilius Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro, marched into Apulia, at the head of eighty thousand foot and six thousand horse. Æmilius was a disciple of Fabius in military tactics, but was violently opposed by Varro, a man of humble origin, who had gained the consulship by fostering the interests of the plebeians, and who was expected by his supporters to conclude the war in one signal battle. The Romans had encamped near Cannæ, a town of Apulia, on the banks of the river Aufidus, where they were narrowly watched by Hannibal. The Carthaginians were already reduced to considerable embarrassment by want of provisions, and but for the rashness of Varro, they would have been completely deserted by the Gauls. The two consuls commanded the Roman army on each alternate day, and Varro, irritated at the procrastinating spirit of his colleague, raised the signal for battle on the 2nd of August. Æmilius made great exertions to induce him to choose some uneven ground, where no advantage could be given to the formidable Carthaginian cavalry, but his advice was neglected. Hannibal posted his troops with his accustomed skill, taking advantage of a severe wind which blew directly in the faces of the Romans, overwhelming them with clouds of dust. When the battle commenced, the centre of the Carthaginian army, being vigorously attacked by the Romans, retired, and was pursued by the soldiers of Varro for a considerable distance, when the retreating Punic army suddenly wheeled upon their enemies, and the Romans were attacked in front, flank, and rear. The Carthaginian cavalry were superior in numbers and discipline, and the Romans were completely overwhelmed by the Spanish infantry, who returned to the

charge with renewed energy. The Romans made unparalleled efforts to extricate themselves, but were almost annihilated. The consul *Æmilius* perished in this battle, together with *Minucius Servilius*, two quaestors, twenty-one military tribunes, and eighty senators. The total loss of the Romans has been variously estimated at forty-five thousand and seventy thousand men. Never before had the Roman arms sustained such a terrible defeat, not even in the carnage at *Allia*, where many thousands escaped to a distant territory, and served their native city at a later period. The consul *Varro* fled to Rome, attended by no more than eighty horse; yet so great was the magnanimity of his countrymen, that he was welcomed by the senate, and thanked for not having despaired of the commonwealth. A few of the Roman troops escaped to *Canusium*. Immediately after the battle of *Cannæ*, *Maharbal*, one of the Carthaginian generals, is said to have counselled *Hannibal* to advance on Rome, assuring him that within five days they would sup in the capitol. *Hannibal*, hesitating to reply, *Maharbal* remarked, "The gods have granted you the power of gaining victories, *Hannibal*, but denied you the prudence to reap advantages from them." This delay of *Hannibal* in marching against Rome, after such a signal victory, has been often censured both in ancient and modern times. If, however, we maturely consider the position of the Carthaginians in Italy, we will find that the conduct of *Hannibal* in this respect was but another evidence of his consummate military talents. From the first moment in which he had conceived the idea of an expedition against Rome, it had been his intention to subdue that commonwealth, more through the defection of the Latin states than through the superiority of the Carthaginian arms. In this hope he had been much disappointed. From the time of his passage of the Alps to the battle of *Cannæ*, a period of two years, he made no important conquests in Italy, and as he was necessarily obliged to support his troops by contributions levied upon the surrounding country, those tribes which had been hitherto neutral, constantly broke out

into absolute revolt. Under these disheartening circumstances, he was obliged to wait until fresh support should arrive from Carthage, and enable him to garrison such of the cities as he had already reduced. His army was in total need of military engines; and as all his victories had been gained through the superiority of his cavalry, he might with reason fear to attempt the siege of so vast a city as Rome, still well provisioned and strongly fortified.

Immediately after the battle of Cannæ, Mago, the brother of Hannibal, was sent to Carthage to convey intelligence of this memorable victory, and to demand fresh troops for the Italian war. Mago, on his arrival, having described in glowing terms the valour of his countrymen, and the annihilation of the Roman army, poured forth, in presence of the senate, a bushel of those peculiar gold rings, worn by members of the equestrian rank in Rome. The partisans of Hannibal shouted with applause, and tauntingly asked his adversaries in Carthage whether they now would advise the surrender of their victorious general to the Romans. Hanno, an old and virulent enemy of the Barcine party, said that he had in no respect altered his former sentiments. "I much doubt," said he, "this mighty victory, of which Mago speaks. If Hannibal has been so successful, why ask us for money, arms, and provisions? Could he ask for more if his armies had been defeated? 'I have cut to pieces the Roman troops—I require another army; I have twice seized upon the enemy's camp—send me more provisions.' But even granting it to be true, what have you gained by all these victories? Have you formed any alliance with the Latin states? Have you received any proposals of peace from Rome? Have you got even a single deserter from their army?" Mago replied in the negative. "Then," Hanno observed, "you hold, your Italian dominions by a frail tenure; and, in my opinion, you are not in the least degree advanced since Hannibal entered Italy." The clamours of the Barcine party in Carthage, which supported Hannibal, silenced the remonstrances of Hanno, and Mago received per-

mission to proceed to Spain, and levy twenty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse, for the assistance of his brother; these forces were, however, soon after sent upon another expedition, through the intrigues of Hannibal's enemies.

Shortly after the battle of Cannæ, Carthaginian envoys were sent to the Roman senate, offering to ransom their prisoners. The senate returned a severe reply, and the dictator, M. Junius, refused to admit the Punic envoys within the walls of Rome. The Roman captives, who accompanied them, were allowed to plead their cause in presence of the senate, and made great exertions to excite the commiseration of their countrymen; they alluded to the awful nature of the conflict which they had survived, and compared their case with that of the prisoners made by the Gauls at Allia, and by Pyrrhus, at Heraclea, who had in both instances been ransomed at the public charge; they represented the misery of the captives, suffering from intolerable heat, and the neglect of their conquerors; and warned the senate, if their prayers were contemned, that the Roman people should be accused in after ages of avarice and cruelty. Their prayers were fruitless. The stern Manlius Torquatus arose, and accusing the captives of making a merit of their own disgrace, declared that the ancient custom of the Roman state—which refused to ransom citizens who had fallen into the hands of the enemy, through their own culpable neglect of duty—should not be departed from in the present instance. The senate veiled the promptings of avarice under the pretence of rigid discipline; and the unfortunate prisoners were obliged to return to their confinement;—such of the Roman soldiers as had escaped to the city were sent into Sicily to retrieve their honour in that dangerous service.

CHAPTER XXIII.

State of Italy in the Second Punic War.—Revolt of Capua.—Hannibal before Rome.—Syracuse.—Archimedes—his death—his tomb discovered by Cicero.—Tarentum taken by Hannibal.—Defeat of the Scipios in Spain.—Scipio Africanus in Spain.—Defeat and death of Asdrubal.—Scipio passes into Africa.—Hannibal records his achievements in Italy.—Syphax.—Masinissa.—Sophonisba.—The Carthaginians sue for peace.—Hannibal leaves Italy—his reflections thereon—his interview with Scipio.—End of the Second Punic War—its consequences.

The battle of Cannæ caused an universal defection of the southern Italian states from the cause of Rome, and Hannibal for a moment might have hoped for the completion of his long-cherished project—a confederacy of the once powerful territories of Samnium, Etruria, and Lucania. But the spirit of these tribes had long been broken by a war of extermination and the oppressive burden of Roman rule. Their submission to Hannibal, was oftener the result of indolence or timidity than the desire of recovering their former independence. Movements for civil liberty, in general, arise amongst the higher orders of society, and these the jealous policy of the Romans had been careful to destroy. The remaining bondsmen cared little, provided that they were not obliged to carry arms or to pay any additional tribute;—and in this respect they may have even preferred the Romans, who relied upon their own resources for the exigencies of war, to the starving host of African invaders, who not only raised the prices of provisions by their presence, but compelled these unwarlike serfs to recruit their own diminished ranks, and engage in hazardous warfare.

Most of the Greek towns along the southern coasts of Italy declared for Hannibal, but the experience of Messina and Rhegium made them extremely diffident of admitting a foreign garrison within their walls. The revolt of Capua, the ancient and wealthy capital of Campania, proved an important acquisition to the

Carthaginian army. Hannibal had commenced negotiations with this city for a considerable period previous to the battle of Cannæ, and considered that he had now a favourable opportunity of compelling it to own the dominion of Carthage. On his march he passed the city of Naples, whose lofty walls and formidable garrison deterred him from attempting the siege; but his Numidian troops carried off no inconsiderable amount of plunder from the surrounding country.

On his approach to Capua, the inhabitants of that city were made the dupes of an artful stratagem, conceived and executed by one of its wealthy but unscrupulous citizens named Calavius, who had raised himself to a position of importance by means of incessant hostility towards the aristocratic orders. For a considerable period, he had sowed perpetual discord between the senate and the people. After the battle of Thrasy-mene, he conceived the nefarious design of massacring the entire senate, and surrendering the city to the soldiers of Hannibal; but probably fearing that he might afterwards be sacrificed by the Carthaginians, he addressed the senate, and assured them that they were on the point of destruction from the fury of the populace; but that he nevertheless would preserve their lives, if they paid implicit obedience to his directions. The terrified senators promised perfect submission, upon which Calavius closed the doors of the senate-house, and addressed the surrounding multitude in the following manner: "Citizens, you have now within your power this detested senate, which has so often made you the victims of its injustice and rapacity; they are here prisoners within the senate-house, to be disposed of as you think fit." A general shout of applause followed this declaration, and the multitude demanded that the punishment of instant death should be inflicted upon the members of this detested oligarchy. Calavius replied, "Your award is perfectly just. The senate as a body deserves capital punishment; but it is necessary to consider, in case we carry out this sentence, what form of government we must establish, for the future administration of our affairs. We detest, as you know,

the power of kings, and without a senate, a commonwealth would be worse than anarchy. Let us, therefore, before we consign each of these senators to the fate which they deserve, elect new magistrates to occupy their place. The crowd assented, and taking his seat upon the tribunal in the forum, Calavius ordered the doors of the senate-house to be opened, and one of the senators to be brought into his presence. On hearing the name of this individual, the excited populace immediately declared him deserving of death. Calavius said quietly, "Be it so, my friends, but let us first elect a citizen to fill his vacant seat." A general silence prevailed at first, which was broken by some one proposing a candidate, but at every nomination the clamours of private, or political enmity, prevented the election; and the multitude, after a time, were easily convinced that their present senate was far superior to any they could elect from amongst themselves. The trembling patriots were set at liberty; and, feeling that they owed their lives to the intervention of Calavius, they took every possible opportunity of displaying their gratitude, and of ingratiating themselves into the favour of the populace. The citizens of Capua were in general anxious to revolt to Hannibal, but many of their children were retained as hostages by the Romans, and these they would inevitably sacrifice to the resentment of their former masters. They resolved, however, to send ambassadors to Rome to demand protection against the impending Carthaginian invasion. This embassy found the Roman consul at Venusia,* who informed them that such was the deplorable state of the commonwealth after their recent defeat, that it was perfectly impossible to afford any relief to the citizens of Capua.

This impolitic avowal of the weakness of Rome, increased the disaffection of the Capuans. The ambassadors, on their return, described the Roman republic as having but a nominal existence. An instant insurrection was the result. The Roman garrison was seized, and put to a cruel death, in the city baths.

* The birthplace of the poet Horace.

Capua was quickly occupied by the soldiers of Hannibal, who surrendered themselves to all the delights of that luxurious city, and forgot, amid the unrestrained indulgence of intoxication and repose, those inestimable lessons of discipline, which they had learned amid the toils of war. The conquest of Capua was said to have proved a Cannæ to the Carthaginian soldiers, who from this period do not appear to have sustained their former renown. Of that veteran army with which Hannibal crossed the Alps, but a few now remained, the rest consisting merely of Gaulish or Italian recruits; the latter of whom did not even compensate by physical courage for the absence of military discipline, or the prestige of former success. The genius of Hannibal neutralized in a large degree these formidable disadvantages, and if after the battle of Cannæ we meet with no more signal triumphs of the Carthaginian arms, we must still admire the ability with which their army was maintained for fourteen years longer, in the heart of a hostile country, and deprived of resources or communication with their friends.

The Romans now made every possible exertion to recruit their armies, and for the restoration of public confidence—nor were those efforts unsuccessful. In the year, B.C., 215, M. C. Marcellus, on being appointed prætor, commenced an active system of warfare against the Carthaginian army, and changed the position of the Romans, who had until this time been obliged to act entirely upon the defensive. His fortified camp at Nola was assailed by Hannibal, who was obliged to retreat with considerable loss, and this, the first victory which the Romans had obtained over such a formidable enemy, inspired them with new hopes. Capua was closely besieged by the consul, Q. Fulvius; and Hannibal appears to have either disregarded his newly acquired allies, or to have been unable to protect them. He sent, however, a small detachment to their relief, while he himself directed his course to Rome, crossing in his march the river Volturnus, and passing through the territories of Suessa, Allifæ, and Casinum. A terrified messenger from Fregellæ conveyed intelligence of the

approach of the Carthaginians. Rome was filled with confusion and dismay; the temples were crowded with suppliants, and Q. Fulvius was recalled from the blockade of Capua to protect the walls of the capital. This general immediately pitched his camp in the vicinity of the Colline Gate; and Hannibal, who had already crossed the Anio, encamped at the distance of about three miles from the city, advancing himself with about two thousand cavalry, as far as the temple of Hercules, near the army of Fulvius. The Roman consul, indignant that the Carthaginians were now within the very sight of Rome, that city which once, like Sparta, boasted of having never beheld the smoke of an enemy's camp, prepared for instant battle, and succeeded in compelling Hannibal to retire. On the ensuing day the latter brought up the remainder of his forces in order of battle, and was speedily encountered by the Roman troops; but a sudden tempest prevented a conflict which must have decided the fate of Rome. A similar interruption occurred upon the ensuing day, and Hannibal began to despond of ultimate success against the Romans. The victories of Marcellus had in a great measure restored the spirit of the citizens, who had been paralyzed by the battle of Cannæ and the previous disasters of the state. Capua was still vigorously besieged by the Roman army, and Hannibal had found it impossible to afford relief to his Campanian allies. The Capuans, well aware of what they would endure at the hands of the exasperated Romans, defended their city with the energy of despairing men. Their resistance was soon overpowered by the pressure of disease and famine; the populace became desirous of surrendering the city and the senators to the fury of the Romans, to save themselves from chastisement. Vibius Virrius, the instigator of the revolt from Rome, assembled the patricians at a banquet in his house, when, having painted in glowing colours the horrors which awaited them on the taking of the city, these unfortunate men, laden with meat and wine, swallowed poison and retired from home. Some perished in the house of Virrius, and some died upon the way home.

The city gates were thrown open, and the Roman soldiers rushed to arrest the members of the senate, but the last of these unhappy suicides had already expired. The remaining inhabitants were treated with barbarous severity, being either massacred upon the spot or sold into slavery.

The terrible fate of Capua, and the evident inability of Hannibal to protect his allies from the Roman arms, produced a formidable reaction amongst the revolted cities of Italy. Some years previously, the Carthaginian general found the siege of Rome to be hopeless, and retired to the southern parts of the Italian peninsula. The very year before the fall of Capua, Syracuse, which had revolted from the Roman alliance, was besieged by M. Claudius Marcellus, both by sea and land. On the death of Hiero, which occurred in the year, B.C., 216, his successor, Hieronimus, was murdered by his subjects, and the government of Syracuse was usurped by two natives of Sicily, named Hippocrates and Epicydes. These despots, who had been officers in the army of Hiero, excited the populace to renounce their alliance with Rome.

SYRACUSE.

This celebrated city, situated in the east of Sicily, was founded nearly eight hundred years before the Christian era, by a Grecian colony; it was defended by three citadels and three-fold walls, and it had two large and spacious harbours, formed by the hand of nature. Thus favourably circumstanced for the trade of Italy, Greece, the East, Asia Minor, Africa, and Spain, it soon rose to wealth and power, when it was distinguished for the magnificence of its buildings and the opulence of its inhabitants. So considerable was the power of the Syracusans under Dionysius the elder, that they kept 100,000 foot, 10,000 cavalry, and 400 ships in permanent pay. But a series of tyrants and domestic dissensions had destroyed their independence, and now left them but the shadow of their former greatness.

ARCHIMEDES.

The energetic Marcellus lost no time in proceeding to reduce this city, directing his assault principally against a locality which overlooked the sea. The courage and pertinacity of the Romans struck dismay into the hearts of the citizens; but the skill of a Syracusan sage long baffled the obstinate perseverance of the besiegers. The famous mathematician, Archimedes, had for many years enjoyed the patronage of king Hiero, and at his request had constructed many military engines of wonderful mechanism, for the defence of the city. On the approach of the Romans, Archimedes immediately proceeded to exert those remarkable talents with which he was endowed. Marcellus advanced with firmness to the assault, but his troops were repulsed by showers of stones and darts, shot from the ramparts, under the direction of the philosopher. The Roman galleys approached the city walls, but were either sunk by large fragments of rock, launched at them from an immense distance, or grappled with by huge iron cranes which lifted them into the air. The columns of attack were almost invariably annihilated by the missiles of the besieged, who, intrenched behind their lofty ramparts, suffered but a trifling loss; and the Romans became so terrified that it was with great difficulty they could be induced to approach even the walls of Syracuse. The Roman fleet, which avoided the range of the enemy's engines, could not save itself from the science of the Syracusan philosopher. By means of mirrors he is said to have concentrated and directed the rays of the sun in such a manner as to set on fire the galleys of Marcellus, although moored at a considerable distance from the fort. The Roman general, wearied and almost defeated, converted the siege into a blockade; when the slow but certain progress of disease and scarcity soon neutralised all the efforts of Archimedes. Syracuse continued its resistance for two years, when it was at last surprised by the Romans, B.C., 212, during a public festival, in which the citizens had neglected the defence of their walls. The city was

immediately delivered up to pillage, but Marcellus forbade the houses to be burnt; the inhabitants were, however, cruelly driven from their homes into the surrounding country, where many died of hunger or fatigue. Archimedes perished by an unfortunate accident: A Roman soldier, who was sent to summon him before Marcellus, found him in his study so deeply engaged in the solution of some geometrical problem, that he was totally unconscious of the disaster of the city. Archimedes refused to attend the messenger until he had concluded his demonstration, which so exasperated the barbarian, that he drew his sword, and killed him on the spot. Marcellus was much concerned at the death of this distinguished philosopher, who has left behind him, in his scientific treatise, abundant proofs of genius and vindication of his fame. About a century and a half after the death of this illustrious man, his tomb was discovered by Cicero, when quæstor in Sicily. The locality had long been forgotten by his countrymen; but the Roman orator remembered that Archimedes had desired his tomb to be inscribed with a diagram of the geometrical relation existing between a cylinder and a sphere, which he considered to be one of his most important discoveries. After long search, a tomb answering to this description was discovered near one of the city gates, almost covered with thorns and brambles. Cicero, with kindred genius, at this discovery indulged in all the ecstasies of a man of taste and learning. The tomb of Archimedes was shown by the Syracusans with pride to admiring foreigners; but the havoc of war—the dark convulsions of Gothic invasion, in all the irresistible vicissitudes of nineteen centuries, have thrown impenetrable oblivion over this interesting relic, and the monument of Archimedes is now lost for ever.

In the same year, the important city of Tarentum was taken by Hannibal after a long siege. The citadel, however, continued in the occupation of a Roman garrison until the year, B.C., 209, when the city was recovered from the hands of the Carthaginians by Fabius Maximus, who bribed their commander to de-

sert his trust. The campaign in Italy from this period became a war of posts. Hannibal continued to hold possession of Bruttium, but was severely harrassed by the indefatigable Marcellus, who, however, perished in an ambuscade with some of his most distinguished officers. The Carthaginian general bestowed an honourable interment upon the body of his rival, and thus put to shame the conduct of the Romans, who mostly neglected these courtesies of war.

THE SCIPIOS DEFEATED IN SPAIN.

While the Romans were slowly but steadily recovering the possession of Italy from the hands of Hannibal, an event occurred in Spain which caused general consternation in the Roman senate. The two brothers, Publius and Cneius Scipio, the former of whom had been defeated by Hannibal at the Ticinus, were deputed by the senate to undertake the government of Spain. Their principal object was to prevent the march of Asdrubal to the relief of his brother Hannibal; in this design the Scipios succeeded for a considerable period. Many of the Spanish cities, which had given either a forced or voluntary adhesion to the Carthaginians, now submitted to the Roman yoke. An important victory was gained at the river Illiberis, in which large numbers of the Punic army were slain. To counteract these successes, three eminent Carthaginian generals, Asdrubal and Mago, the brothers of Hannibal, and Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo, commenced a plan of operations which resulted in the total destruction of the Roman armies. In the year, B.C., 212, they united their forces, and attacked the army of Publius Scipio, near the town of Anitorgis; Scipio was strongly intrenched in his position; but his enemies were reinforced by the troops of Masinissa, prince of Numidia and Indibilis, a powerful Spanish chief. The Romans made a desperate resistance, but were almost annihilated, and their general, P. Scipio, fell by an obscure hand. His brother, Cneius Scipio, did not long survive him. The defeat and death of

Publius had such potent influence on the forces of Oneius, that it caused the defection of no less than thirty thousand Celtiberians; with dismay the remaining Scipio now saw the approach of the victorious enemy, against whom he felt though resistance might be honourable, it could not be successful. From an elevated position, he repelled for a considerable time the assaults of the Carthaginians; but finding his army dwindled to a handful of men, he fled into a small fort, which was set on fire by the enemy, and the gallant Roman general perished in the flames.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS IN SPAIN.

These disastrous events, following close upon each other, caused general grief at Rome. Few were found willing to undertake the management of the perilous war in Spain. Publius Cornelius Scipio, the nephew of the late unfortunate commander, a young man at that time in his twenty-fourth year, proposed to the Roman senate to take the command of the armies of his country, and promised to avenge the death of his father and uncle. As he was still in mourning for his unfortunate relatives, it was considered ominous to invest him with such an important office. His known talents and general popularity prevailed over the fears of superstition, and in the year, B.C., 211, P. C. Scipio proceeded to Spain.

The future conqueror of Hannibal was distinguished for his piety and strict observance of the religious rites of his country. By a rigid attention to the prejudices of his countrymen, he acquired a large portion of their respect; in his political opinions, he appears to have been strongly averse to any concessions towards the multitude. In war, he was vigorous and skilful, relying more upon rapid and well-concerted measures than upon that slow and complicated system of military tactics, peculiar to the generals of his time. In private life, Scipio enjoys the reputation of a mild philosophic character, who devoted much of his time to Grecian literature—for the Romans at this period had no literature of their own. His patronage of learned men have not formed the most inconsiderable praises of this dis-

tinguished man, and the most inveterate enemies of Scipio have never been able to impeach his character for virtue and morality. Amongst these enemies, the historian must include, with surprise and regret, the name of M. Porcius Cato, the celebrated censor, whose eloquence and learning exercised so great an influence upon the manners,—nay, even upon the destinies of Rome; and Fabius Maximus, whose timely caution checked the career of Hannibal, and opened a path for the victories of Scipio. It is now extremely difficult, at this remote period, to fathom the causes of the jealousy or prejudice of these illustrious Romans; the feuds of their respective families, or the diffidence which the old and experienced usually feel in the counsels of the young, may have in some measure contributed to their dislike. The death of Fabius, who expired full of years and honour, removed an important antagonist from the lists with Scipio, but Cato continued his enmity to the last portion of his life, and embittered the closing days of one of the greatest generals whom Rome had ever produced.

RESTORES MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

On his arrival in Spain, P. C. Scipio perceived a great deficiency of martial spirit and military discipline in the troops of Rome. The defeat and death of two such eminent officers—his father and uncle—had inspired the Roman army with much terror of the Carthaginian arm; and the hitherto strict order of their camp had degenerated into negligence and luxury,—matters which Scipio dreaded more than even the swords of the enemy, and commenced a complete system of re-organization of the Roman army. He had brought with him to Spain a fleet, which, although hastily constructed, was well provided with military stores and about seven thousand volunteers, whom Fabius in vain endeavoured to dissuade from embarking in such a rash and hopeless enterprise. The rapid successes of the young Roman general, which took place almost on his arrival in Spain, the conquest of

New Carthage, and the defeat of those very Carthaginian generals who had conquered his father and uncle, silenced the calumnies of his enemies; and Fabius could only observe, that such a brilliant series of victories was not likely to continue. Many important cities were taken by the Romans, and Asdrubal, abandoning the war in Spain, resolved to march immediately to the assistance of his brother Hannibal in Italy.

In the space of about two months, Asdrubal, B.C., 207, crossed the Pyrenees and the Alps, meeting with hardly any opposition from the Gauls, who were for the most part friendly to the Carthaginian cause. In his isolated position, Hannibal remained completely ignorant of the approaching succour, and the letters which had been transmitted to him by Asdrubal had fallen into the hands of the Romans. The consuls, M. Livius Salinator and C. Claudius Nero, resolved to meet the army of Asdrubal before he could join his forces to those of his brother, judging that the consequences of such an event would be the destruction of Rome. Asdrubal had been engaged for some time at the siege of Placentia, but, finding success uncertain, he commenced his march in a southern direction to meet the armies of Hannibal, who was still engaged in the lower extremity of the Calabrian peninsula. On arriving at the banks of the river Metaurus, in Umbria, Asdrubal became aware of the approach of the Roman consuls, who had formed a junction with the army of the prætor, M. Porcius, and were advancing upon him by forced marches. Asdrubal had crossed the river Metaurus, and now resolved to retreat; but being abandoned by his guides, he was unable to find the ford, and a tedious march along the banks of the river brought him into contact with the Roman army. A furious battle was the result, in which Asdrubal made every exertion which could have earned success, was success always the companion of valour and genius;—his soldiers were wearied with their tedious expedition of the previous night, and were completely routed by the Romans, B.C., 207. Asdrubal, seeing the irreparable loss of his army, resolved to die in a manner worthy of

the brother of Hannibal, and rushed into a Roman cohort, where he soon fell, covered with wounds. The Carthaginians are said to have lost fifty-five thousand men in this disastrous battle. The Romans, almost always savage in their triumphs, cut off the head of Asdrubal, and cast it into the camp of Hannibal, who recognized it with grief and dismay. This great general now perceived that the conquest of Italy was hopeless, and retired into the extremity of Bruttium, where he maintained himself for some years, giving many severe defeats to the Roman armies that attempted to dislodge him. On a pillar at Lacinum, on the eastern coast of Bruttium, he caused to be engraved an account of his achievements during his campaign in Italy, and the Romans permitted this evidence of the great danger which they once incurred, to stand for the instruction of posterity.

The death of Asdrubal was a fatal blow to the Carthaginian commonwealth. The loss of that talented general, who in many respects was not inferior to his brother Hannibal, involved the entire defection of Spain, which Mago and his companions were not able to hold to its allegiance. Its subjugation was soon completed by Scipio, who formed the design of crossing over into Africa, and imitating the policy of Hannibal, by carrying on the war in the heart of the enemy's country. In the year, B.C., 205, Scipio was elected consul, together with P. Licinius Crassus. Sicily was assigned to him as a province, with permission to carry the war into Africa, if he should consider it expedient for the interests of Rome. To this measure, his antagonist, Fabius, made every possible opposition, but, fortunately for the prosperity of Rome, without success. Scipio remained for about a year in Sicily, and in B.C., 204, he crossed over to Africa, landing in the neighbourhood of Utica, with an army of seventeen thousand foot and a few thousand horse; consisting chiefly of volunteers from the Italian states, who had flocked with enthusiasm to the standard of a young and victorious leader. The Carthaginians had three armies at their disposal: one under the command of Asdrubal, the son

of Gisco, and two more, levied by their inconstant African allies, Syphax and Masinissa. The latter prince having found in Syphax a rival suitor to the hand of Sophonisba, daughter of Asdrubal, secretly offered his assistance to the Romans; but still cautiously waited to observe the result of an impending battle between the armies of Carthage and of Rome. At first, Scipio was much pressed by the numbers of the Carthaginian forces; but the well-timed defection of Masinissa, who had led the Punic army into a fatal ambushade, treacherously insured the victory to the Romans, and the Carthaginians were defeated with great loss. Shortly after this affair, Asdrubal and his son-in-law, Syphax, having collected together their forces, prepared again for another conflict; but the Romans contrived to set fire to the tents of their adversaries, which caused such dreadful confusion in the camp of the latter, that the Carthaginians were cut down almost without resistance. Syphax, seeing this dreadful state of affairs, like Masinissa, but not with his treachery, retired to his own kingdom, and withdrew his alliance from his late friends, now completely left to their own unaided resources. Syphax did not enjoy the security his desertion led him to expect. Masinissa, from jealousy, and C. Lælius, from a higher motive, attacked him in his own kingdom, where he was defeated, made prisoner, and his wife, Sophonisba, taken by Masinissa, who married her. The Romans gave the latter prince a large portion of the kingdom of Syphax; but Scipio, fearing lest the influence of this lady might sway Masinissa to the interests of her father and her country, required her to be delivered up to him as a hostage for the good faith of her present lord; when the latter, in the spirit of a barbarian despot, had her poisoned, that she should not fall into the hands of the Romans. Syphax was kept a prisoner for some years and then led in chains to Rome, where he, with other captives, adorned the triumph of Scipio.

Another version of the career of Masinissa states, that in one of the skirmishes between the Romans and the Carthaginians, in which the former were victorious,

among the prisoners was a son of Masinissa, and whom Scipio sent back to his father; an act which awakened so strong a sense of gratitude in the African prince, that he at once renounced his alliance with Carthage, and espoused the cause of Rome. This is a mere invention to veil the perfidy of a man, who, for revenge, led his Carthaginian allies into an ambuscade, and stood coldly by at their slaughter. The beauty of Sophonista and the plundered possessions of Syphax, were the only cause of the gratitude of the false Masinissa to his Roman masters.

CARTHAGE SUES FOR PEACE.

The Carthaginian senate now sued for peace. Scipio, who only contemplated the absolute ruin of Carthage, proposed conditions of so severe a character that they might be rejected, and which indeed were received by the Carthaginians with indignation: he having demanded that the latter should withdraw their armies from Italy and Gaul; deliver up all prisoners and deserters to the Romans; abandon Spain and all the islands of Italy and Africa; surrender all their ships to the Romans, with the exception of twenty; give to the Romans five hundred thousand measures of barley and three hundred thousand of wheat; and pay to the treasury of Rome fifteen thousand talents. These hard conditions he proposed to transmit to the Roman senate for their approval. The Carthaginians, although galled at these insulting terms, were glad of this short respite; and, in the mean time, commanded the immediate return of Hannibal from Italy.

HANNIBAL LEAVES ITALY.

The Carthaginian general heard the summons of the senate with grief and despair, but obeyed it without hesitation, B.C., 202. The coasts of Italy, which he now beheld for the last time, recalled to the mind of this illustrious man the memories of so many brilliant triumphs, now achieved in vain,—so many glowing

hopes and aspirations, now passed away for ever. His long and weary march from the waters of the Ebro to the Rhone; the terrible passage of the Alps; the carnage of the Trebia, Thrasymene, and Cannæ; the subjugation of all Italy up to the very walls of Rome; his residence in a hostile country for sixteen years; the wonderful events of so long a war,—passed in rapid review before his eyes, and bitter was his self-reproach for not having led his soldiers to the metropolis of Italy while they were buoyant with the triumph of Cannæ; while haughty Rome trembled for her existence. Yet, as we have already seen, his despair has done but little justice to the prudence of his calmer moments; and posterity must acknowledge that the course pursued by Hannibal in Italy was the wisest, and best adapted to the circumstances of the war.

HIS INTERVIEW WITH SCIPIO.

On arriving in Africa, at the sea port of Adrumetum, Hannibal dedicated a few days to the necessary repose for his troops, and then advanced with his army to meet the troops of Scipio, encamped on the river Bagradas. He was much disposed to peace, but the violent spirit of his countrymen was roused by the presence of their invincible general, the pending treaty with Rome was broken off, and an attempt was even made to arrest the Roman ambassadors, contrary to the law of nations. Hannibal rebuked the petulance of his countrymen, and sought an interview with Scipio, which was readily granted. These two illustrious generals gazed upon each other with silent admiration for a time, until Hannibal commenced an able and eloquent argument for peace. He spoke of the horrors of warfare,—the sacrifice of human life,—and, above all, of the vicissitudes of fortune. His own history, his career in Italy, the anticipated destruction of Rome, were all signal instances of the variety of Roman affairs; and he warned Scipio to beware of the fate of Regulus, and to accept the fair conditions of treaty proposed by brave men, who would not suffer themselves to be subdued without a struggle.

Scipio replied with temper and moderation; but accused the Carthaginians of their gross violation of the pending treaty, and the sacred character of the ambassadorial office; declared that they were the aggressors at the commencement of the war, and had not acquitted themselves with honour and fidelity in its progress; nor could the Roman people now venture to rely upon any conditions with the Carthaginian senate which were not maintained by the sword: the conference was broken off, and Hannibal, despairing of peace, now prepared for battle. The challenge was gladly received by Scipio, who feared that any delay might only result in the appointment of some other general, and he thereby lose the glory of bringing the war to a termination.

BATTLE OF ZAMA.

These two great powers now resolved to cast all their fortune on the fate of war. They met each other near the city of Zama, in Numidia, where every available means were adopted by both generals that in human wisdom could insure victory, or an honourable retreat. The Carthaginians were much superior to the Romans in numbers, but inferior in courage and discipline; and Hannibal had reason to regret the loss of those veteran soldiers whom he had so often led to victory upon the plains of Italy. Elephants, together with the fickle and irregular cavalry of Numidia and Mauritania, formed the principal strength of his army, including a large number of newly levied troops from the Italian peninsula; a legion of Macedonians, who occupied a distinguished post in his second rank, were formidable at once by character and discipline. His troops were marshalled with consummate ability, and perhaps were in this respect superior to the Romans. Scipio, who dreaded the effects of the elephants upon his lines, caused his troops to be drawn up in battalions with intervals between, so as to receive and cut off the enemy's charge. The battle commenced by a furious onset of the Romans and the troops of Masinissa upon

the Carthaginian line, by which the elephants were thrown into some confusion, but, returning to the attack, they caused terrible slaughter through the Roman ranks, and were at last repelled with difficulty by means of showers of arrows. The lines of infantry now engaged; the Carthaginians were badly supported by their auxiliaries, and, after a desperate resistance, their ranks were completely broken and their rear destroyed by the combined attack of Lælius and the treacherous Masinissa. Twenty thousand Carthaginian soldiers fell on the field of battle, one hundred and thirty-three standards and eleven elephants were taken. Hannibal, attended by a few cavalry, fled to Adrumetum, and embarked for Carthage, where he strongly advised the senate to complete a treaty with Rome. Scipio, immediately after the battle of Zama, gave directions for his army to proceed at once to Carthage by land, while he sailed thither with his fleet. During the voyage, he encountered a vessel, sent by the Carthaginian senate, and adorned with olive branches, to implore for peace. To the bearers of this missive, Scipio returned an evasive answer, and directed them to meet him at Tunia, where he called a council of war. Many of his officers were of opinion, that he should proceed at once to Carthage, and raze it to the ground; but he, still fearing lest a successor should be appointed, resolved to grant peace upon the following hard conditions: "That the Carthaginians should continue free, and preserve their constitution and their African dependencies in the same manner as they did previously to the war; that they should deliver all their prisoners without ransom, together with all slaves and deserters; all their vessels, save ten triremes; all their tame elephants, and that they should not for the future train up any more for war; that they should not make war out of Africa, nor even in that country, without having first obtained the permission of the Roman people; that they should restore to Masinissa all they had taken either from him or his ancestors; that they should furnish money and corn to the Roman auxiliaries until their ambassadors should return from Rome; that they

should pay to the Romans ten thousand Euboic talents of silver, in fifty annual payments; besides, deliver up one hundred hostages, who should be nominated by Scipio. And, in order that the opinion of the Roman senate should be had upon this treaty, it was agreed to grant them a truce, upon condition that the Carthaginians should restore the ships taken in the former war, without which they were not to expect any terms or clemency whatever."

When these terms were known at Carthage, they caused universal grief, and Gisgo, a powerful Carthaginian noble, even attempted to induce the senate to reject these shameful conditions. Hannibal, indignant at this insane attempt to renew the horrors of a hopeless war, rushed to the tribune, and seizing Gisgo, pushed him violently away. The senators murmured at this breach of courtesy, and Gisgo loudly demanded reparation for the insult, when Hannibal replied,— "It is now thirty-six years since I left your city, then but a boy of nine years of age. During that period, I have had many opportunities of making myself perfect in the art of war, a science which I have studied carefully. The customs of your city I confess I know not—nor were they likely to enter the mind of one who has spent the greater portion of his life amid the turmoil of a camp. If I have now infringed your rules of decorum, I can but crave your pardon, and beg you to instruct me for the future." His apology was received, and the senate reluctantly agreed to the treaty with Rome, which the exigencies of their position now rendered unavoidable. Five hundred vessels were delivered to the Romans, and by them burned in the very sight of Carthage. The submission of the Carthaginians to the treaty imposed by Scipio, concluded the second Punic war, B.C., 202. The remaining garrisons of Spain and Sicily were then withdrawn, and the Romans enjoyed undisturbed possession of the Mediterranean.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR.

Spain, Sardinia, and Corsica, peopled for the most part by uncivilized Celtic tribes, were too weak to be the arbiters of their own destiny. The powerful arm of Roman authority, by deciding their petty provincial disputes, opened the way to the total subjugation of these fertile countries. The products of the earth, whether obtained from the cultivation of the rich soil, or dug from beneath its surface, proved a timely relief to the exhausted treasury of Rome. Italy, harrassed by a warfare of sixteen years, and the continual presence of an hostile army, could afford it no supplies, but required rather assistance and repose. The Italian cities had suffered severely in their population and resources; but they had learned a lesson of implicit obedience to Rome in the chastisement of Capua, and although they may have afterwards revolted, it was rather to obtain a share in the Roman constitution than assert their primitive independence. The southern cities of Italy and Sicily, mostly consisting of Dorian colonies from Greece, had concurrently declined in character and vigour with the parent state from whence they sprung—a fact which may imply a general deterioration of race rather than any other of those many concurring circumstances that influence a nation's fate; they were in general heavy losers by the Punic war, and the neutral or hostile position which they sometimes assumed, in regard to Rome, gave the conquerors a pretext for depriving them of their lands, which were divided by Scipio amongst his impoverished soldiery; and the Greek language, which for many years had been the dialect of these states, became, by this admixture, a barbarous jargon, or was completely merged into the Latin tongue.

In Rome, the affairs of the state were by no means prosperous. Much debt had been contracted during the course of the war; and it was proposed to discharge the more pressing liabilities by a public loan, to be repaid in three yearly instalments; but the amount of this sum is not clearly ascertained. The outbreak

of the Macedonian war caused this measure to be deferred for some period, and the expenses incident to this campaign, finally induced the senate to abandon it altogether. After the first Punic war, the ambition of foreign conquest spread to an immense extent among the Romans, when patricians and plebeians alike turned their thoughts to war, deeming it more easy and more honourable to seize the possessions of others, than to acquire riches by commercial speculation or patient industry. Whatever may have been the aggressions, or perhaps the retaliations of Carthage upon Rome, the destruction of a great industrial people was deeply injurious alike to Europe and to Rome itself, where luxury and idleness soon took the place of frugality and vigorous exertion.

CHAPTER XXIV.

War with Macedonia.—Rome declares the independence of Greece.—Flight and death of Hannibal.—Death of Scipio.

During the latter years of the second Punic war, a contest was maintained by Rome with Philip, king of Macedonia, who, immediately after the battle of Cannæ, formed an alliance with Hannibal, by which he obtained possession of all the Roman dependencies lying to the east of the Adriatic. Rome, although then greatly exhausted by repeated calamities, resolved on vigorous measures; and in the year, B.C., 215, a fleet of fifty vessels was sent to Illyrium, under the command of the prætor, Valerius Lævinus. This war was protracted for a considerable period, and ended only in the year, B.C., 205, after a useless waste of life and treasure. Philip continued to support the Carthaginian interest with troops and money—a circumstance which explains the presence of Macedonian soldiers in the army of Hannibal at the battle of Zama. About this period, the Greeks were making a last effort for inde-

pendence, and the Achæans, who had formed an important confederacy, were contending, under the celebrated Philopœmen, against Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta.—The latter was killed in battle by the hand of the young Achæan general, and the affairs of Greece assumed, for a brief period, a more favourable aspect. On the death of Machanidas, a new despotic ruler, named Nabis, appeared in Sparta; this tyrant was, perhaps, superior in deep cunning and military skill to his predecessor. A naval victory which he gained over Philopœmen at Elis, was bitterly avenged by a total defeat, in the neighbourhood of Sparta; but the unhappy dissensions of the Greeks, which were sown and fostered by the intrigues of the Romans, neutralized these successes, and were the cause of the eventual subjugation of this celebrated people.

About the year, B.C., 200, Philip, having laid siege to Athens, in retaliation for the punishment of some Acarnanians who had committed sacrilege at the Eleusinian mysteries, the Romans considering this an insult, seized it as an opportunity of declaring war against Philip; and an army was led by land, under the command of Sulpicius Galba, to the relief of the Athenians. Philip, who had already glutted his vengeance upon that city, was aways in Asia, but returned immediately to Europe, and maintained for two years an irregular warfare against the Romans and their allies.

In the year, B.C., 198, Titus Quinctius Flamininus was elected consul and received the conduct of the Macedonian war. Flamininus was a man of consummate military skill; the manner in which he conducted his soldiers through the perilous defiles of northern Greece, is worthy of all praise. The troops of Philip were strongly posted near the fortress of Antigoneia, on the Macedonian frontier; but by an ingenious stratagem of Flamininus, they were simultaneously attacked in front and rear, and compelled to retreat. After this victory, many towns submitted to the Romans, and in the ensuing year, the Macedonians were completely defeated at the battle of Cynoscephalæ, in Thessaly. This victory established the superiority of the Roman military dis-

cipline over that of Greece, which the successors of Pyrrhus, a century previous, had rendered more than doubtful. Philip was obliged to withdraw all his garrisons from the Greek cities, and to acknowledge their complete independence; paying, in addition, to the Roman treasury, a fine of one thousand talents.

ROME DECLARES THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE.

A faint gleam of their long-forgotten glories now began to shine upon the people of Greece. They owed their liberty, it is true, to the intervention of a stranger who might abuse it at his pleasure; but the Macedonian yoke, which had galled them for more than a century, was now for ever broken, and Rome was divided from their homesteads by the mighty barriers of mountains and of seas. The Isthmian* games of Corinth were now at hand, and the Roman general attended to behold this exciting spectacle. The presence of the conqueror of Philip commanded the respect and attention of the multitude, and the Corinthians, with wonder, beheld a herald, who advanced into the centre of the amphitheatre, and proclaimed the independence of the Grecian states. This announcement, so unexpected, ran with the speed of light through every tribe and district of the nation. The populace were transported with joy, and vied with one another in paying every token of gratitude and admiration to their benefactor. Flamininus was almost overpowered by the enthusiasm of the Greeks, who crowded on all sides to crown him with flowers and garlands, and to grasp that right hand which had crushed the Macedonian power and given liberty to Hellas. Flamininus remained for two years, receiving all the time the plaudits of the delighted Greeks, then returned to Rome, having first appointed ten commissioners to regulate the future constitution of the federal republics. On his arrival in the capital he received a triumph; and the Romans, who were insincere in their expression of regard for Grecian independence, heard with much complacency that the impulse

* See "Games of Greece," Note C.

towards civil liberty in that country was already beginning to subside, while the intrigues of Antiochus, king of Syria, and the Ætolians, were likely to render the country a prey to all manner of dissensions. Antiochus relying on his vast territorial possessions, and the influence of his name, had long meditated a war with Rome: a sudden and unexpected event caused the immediate execution of his design.

FLIGHT OF HANNIBAL.

Hannibal, after his defeat at Zama, returned to Carthage, and was elected by his countrymen to the government of his native city. He found the Carthaginian constitution overrun with abuses, and commenced a wise and energetic system of reform: his unwearied perseverance and stern impartiality, raised him many enemies, and renewed the fury of his old antagonists. Continued complaints were made to the Roman senate of his correspondence with Antiochus, who was meditating a war with Rome, and commissioners were appointed to visit Carthage, and demand that Hannibal should be delivered into their hands. Hannibal divined the object of their visit, and, dreading the timidity or fickleness of his countrymen, escaped, B.C., 196, to a vessel, and proceeded to the court of Antiochus, at Ephesus. Hardly had he left the Carthaginian harbour, when orders were given by the senate for his arrest;—two vessels were despatched to seize him; his house was razed to the ground; and a decree of perpetual exile was the reward which his pusillanimous countrymen bestowed upon their illustrious general.

Antiochus received the great Carthaginian with admiration and respect. He disclosed to him his intentions with regard to Rome, and requested his advice as to the conduct of the war. Hannibal strongly recommended a descent on Italy: he said that he required for this purpose one hundred vessels and twelve thousand troops, promising to raise new levies at Carthage, and to reduce the Roman territories to the same condition in which they had been during the second

Punic war. Antiochus appeared to approve of the proposal, but required time for its execution. Roman ambassadors shortly afterwards arrived at his court, and endeavoured sedulously to sow dissensions between the king and his distinguished guest. The flatterers of Antiochus constantly dissuaded him from intrusting the management of the war to a treacherous Carthaginian exile, who might betray his interests for gold; or, in case of success, take to himself the entire glory of the campaign. A mean and petty jealousy was thus excited in the breast of Antiochus, and the counsels of Hannibal were heard with indifference or distrust. Those precious moments which in war decide the fate of nations, were wasted in inactive repose at Ephesus, while the Romans were preparing vigorously for the invasion of Asia.

In the year, B.C., 190, an army of twenty thousand men arrived in Asia, commanded by L. Cornelius Scipio, the brother of the conqueror of Hannibal; they were encountered in the neighbourhood of Magnesia, by a hastily assembled army of seventy thousand men, who were completely defeated, and Antiochus was forced to sue for peace. It was granted to him on condition of yielding a large portion of his dominions in Asia Minor, and of paying to the Roman treasury thirty-seven thousand talents, of which, twenty-five thousand were to be paid at once, and the remaining twelve thousand in twelve yearly instalments; but the delivering up of Hannibal to the Romans was one of the most important conditions of this treaty. Hannibal, justly fearing the sincerity of his host, escaped to Crete, and from thence to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, a sordid and pusillanimous prince, who had the inclination, but wanted the courage to enter into a contest with Rome. He was then at war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and the military genius of Hannibal obtained for him several important victories. A stratagem which the latter is said to have employed in a naval battle against Eumenes, is deserving of being recorded. A large number of earthen vessels were filled with serpents, and thrown during the action into the enemy's

ships, the crews of which, surprised and terrified at this novel method of warfare, were thrown into terrible consternation, and fell into the hands of the Bithynians. Prusias congratulated himself upon having secured the services of Hannibal; but the career of the great Carthaginian was fast drawing to its close. His implacable enemies, the Roman people, sent ambassadors to Prusias to demand his surrender; and Hannibal, who knew the timidity and treachery of his host, fruitlessly endeavoured to escape. Prusias refused formally to betray the rights of hospitality, but, with despicable equivocation, directed the Roman emissaries to the house of Hannibal. The Carthaginian, perceiving that his residence was discovered and beset, and having tried every means of escape, swallowed poison, which he had carried about him for many years. When the Romans entered the room, they found the venerable Carthaginian at the point of death. Addressing the messengers of Rome, he told them that he was about to relieve the Roman senate of a serious source of anxiety, since they had not patience to await an old man's death: he reproached them with degeneracy, in persuading Prusias to consent to the assassination of a guest; and having invoked curses upon the head of his perjured host, expired, B.C., 183, in the seventieth year of his age. His character has been already delineated as far as can be ascertained with probability. His military achievements, with his resources considered, place him at the head of the greatest generals that have lived; in noble and generous humanity, he was eminently above his enemies; his life was a strange example of the vicissitudes of fortune, and his death will always be deplored by those who sympathize for the struggles of valour and genius.

In the same year died two other celebrated men;—Philopœmen, the general of the Achaean league, and Scipio Africanus: the former died of poison, in a dungeon in Messenia; the latter, persecuted by his ungrateful fellow-countrymen, and particularly by Cato the censor, on a false charge of embezzlement of the public money, retired to his villa at Liternum, in Campania,

where he died, in the forty-eighth year of his age, disgusted at the ingratitude of his countrymen. He left directions that his remains should not be conveyed to Rome: the command was piously obeyed by his wife, who erected a mausoleum to him near the villa where he died, and, upon which she placed the figure of her husband, with that of his private friend, the poet Ennius.—The honours which were denied him in life were willingly conceded to him in the grave; all classes then vied with each other in the extravagance of their praise, and believed that Scipio was exalted to the mansions of the gods.

CHAPTER XXV.

Third Punic War.—The Romans invade Africa—their treachery.—Heroism of the Carthaginian women.—Death of Cato the Censor.—Death of Masinissa.—Carthage—its siege and fall.—Destruction of Corinth—its consequences.

From the period of the disastrous conclusion of the second Punic war, the Carthaginians had suffered severely from the cupidity and ambition of Masinissa. The stringent nature of their treaty with Rome had prevented them from offering any resistance to this implacable enemy, who, by gradual encroachments, or sudden predatory incursions, had wrested from their hands a considerable portion of their possessions in Africa. Complaints to the Roman senate were in vain, for the injury of Carthage, and the aggrandizement of their ally Masinissa, were the objects of their wishes and incessant intrigues. In the mean time, the Punic commonwealth was a prey to serious disorders, and a violent democratic faction having obtained the supreme authority, forty of the noblest citizens were expelled from that state and immediately took refuge with Masinissa, king of Numidia; who, glad of this opportunity of harassing Carthage, sent an embassy thither, demand-

ing an immediate restoration of the African exiles to their homes and properties; the request was refused with indignation, but Masinissa was not to be turned aside from his purpose, and the Carthaginians were obliged to prepare for a contest with this prince, who, although ninety years of age, had all the vigour of youth, with a perfect mastery of the art of war.

In vain the Carthaginians solicited the permission of the Roman senate to protect themselves from injury, but without avail; and the Roman ambassadors were the spectators of a furious battle between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, in which the latter were defeated with tremendous slaughter, and compelled to undergo the ignominy of receiving back those exiles whom they had so lately expelled. The Romans, who had looked on with unconcern upon the conflict, now taxed the Carthaginians with violation of the terms of their treaty, in having fought against Masinissa without permission. The continued denunciations of Carthage in the Roman senate by the censor, Marcus Porcius Cato, roused the dormant jealousy of the Roman people, and provoked them to an act of the most unjustifiable aggression. The Carthaginians saw the hostile feelings with which the Romans were animated in their regard, and made every exertion to propitiate their wrath. Ambassadors were sent to Rome, but received evasive answers from the senate, which was occupied in deliberations upon the subject of the war. Cato strongly advised the sending of an expedition against Carthage; as he asserted that it was now evident the intentions of Masinissa were directed to the taking of that city, and in case of his success, he might become himself a dangerous antagonist to Rome. Scipio Nasica, cousin of Scipio Africanus, thought otherwise, and assured the Romans that the destruction of Carthage would be the commencement of their own downfall; for when deprived of so mighty an opponent, the Roman people would fall into luxury and effeminacy. The hopes of plunder and the strength of national prejudice prevailed, and war was accordingly declared against the republic of Carthage, B.C., 149, unless she were willing to submit to

terms which involved the virtual extinction of the metropolis of Africa. Three hundred hostages were first extorted from the unhappy Carthaginians, who still hoped by offers of large sums of money to satisfy the cravings of Roman avarice; but an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of the consuls, Manilius and Censorinus, soon landed in Africa, B.C., 149, when Utica, terrified at the approach of the enemy, opened its gates to receive them. The Romans, secure in their aggression, at once demanded the surrender of all the military stores, arms, and provisions belonging to the Carthaginians; this unfortunate people, having now no resource, surrendered into the hands of their enemies two thousand military engines, and two hundred thousand suits of armour. Scarcely had these munitions of war been received by the Romans, when they, with the most unblushing perfidy, pronounced the decree of the senate—that *the city of Carthage should be destroyed*; but its inhabitants should have permission to erect another metropolis in any part of their territories they pleased, at the distance of not less than twelve miles from the sea.

This unjust and treacherous decree was received by the Carthaginian envoys with grief and horror, and the fury of the citizens on its recital at Carthage caused the instant massacre of all the Roman and Italian strangers found within its walls. The gates were immediately closed, and the inhabitants, by incredible exertions, endeavoured to supply the loss of those military engines and armour which had been extorted from them by Roman perfidy. Their ramparts were piled with enormous stones; and Asdrubal, a Punic general who had been banished from Carthage, was implored to return and undertake the defence of his native city. Night and day the citizens laboured in forging arms and in training themselves for war; there were still seventy thousand brave spirits within the walls of Carthage, inspired with the courage of despair and filled with energy, which, had it been exerted earlier, might have saved it from dependence upon the uncertain fidelity of mercenary troops. The very

women took part in this patriotic labour, and heroically sacrificed all their ornaments—even cut off their long hair to make ropes for the military engines. The Roman army on their approach found the Carthaginians prepared for a vigorous resistance, and the losses of the former for a considerable period were extremely severe. Masinissa, who considered that the Romans were endeavouring to deprive him of the fruits of his victory, withdrew his powerful assistance, while Manilius and Censorinus, who attacked the city at opposite sides, were completely baffled by the furious sallies of the besieged.

In the army of Rome, there served, as tribune, the celebrated Publius Scipio, the second Africanus, who much distinguished himself by his valour in the course of this obstinate war. The Romans had been frequently held in check by an active and talented officer of the Carthaginian cavalry, named Phameas, who, with considerable ability and success, attacked their foraging parties, and occasioned them many severe losses. Scipio prepared to encounter their champion, and so great was his skill, that he soon compelled Phameas to quit the field. The Roman consuls were, however, jealous of his rising fame, and, by their frequent neglect of his advice, on more than one occasion, important advantages were gained by the Carthaginians. The Romans, not being satisfied with the progress of the war, sent this year, B.C., 148, a commission to Carthage to inquire into the state of the siege. The soldiers were loud in the praises of the younger Scipio, and it was tacitly agreed that the command of the entire army should be intrusted to him upon the earliest possible opportunity. The consul, Calpurnius Piso, who succeeded Manilius and Censorinus in this campaign, was as unsuccessful as his predecessors.

This year was rendered memorable by the death of Cato and Masinissa. Cato was unquestionably a man of powerful and original talents: he was an ardent lover of his country's honour; but filled with pride,

‡ implacable national and personal prejudices. His

enmity to the Scipios, and his endeavours to compass their ruin while fighting the battles of Rome abroad, or enjoying their well-earned honours in the bosom of their families, can receive no justification. The zeal which he displayed for the preservation of Roman customs and primitive integrity is extremely incompatible with the perfidious measures in respect to Carthage, which he suggested and supported. In private life, he bears an amiable though eccentric character; and we must admire the energy with which he devoted himself late in life to the study of the Greek language, and to the compilation of laborious works upon Italian antiquities and agriculture, of which some fragments exist at the present day.

The death of Cato was quickly followed by the election of Publius Scipio Æmilianus to the consulate, who had come to Rome to stand for the edileship; but so highly did his talent rank in public opinion, that he was elected at once to the consulship, it being popularly believed that he was destined by the gods to terminate the war. On his assuming this high command in that country, his immediate care was to revive military discipline, which had been completely neglected by the preceding commanders. The number of camp followers was greatly reduced, and the soldiers were obliged to encounter the great heats of the African climate without any assistance in their labours. Scipio next proceeded to invest Carthage closely by sea, and prevent the continual introduction of supplies by that channel.

Masinissa was a rude barbarian soldier, of great personal courage:—as an enemy, he was vindictive, and treacherous as a friend. He bequeathed his crown to his grandson, Micipsa, a man of a more peaceable disposition, but whose family were destined to experience a terrible domestic calamity from the cruelty and ambition of Jugurtha, his adopted son.

CARTHAGE.

This city was about twenty-three miles in circumference, consisting of three quarters:—Cothon, Megara, and Byrsa. The first of these included a capacious harbour, and the last received its name from a fortress or citadel. To this point converged the three principal streets of the city, built upon a scale of great magnificence, the houses being in general six stories* high, and provided with every accommodation that the luxury of warm climates demands. The harbour of Cothon was vigilantly blockaded by Scipio, who, knowing the city to be densely populated (seven hundred thousand persons), was convinced that he would be thus speedily enabled to reduce it by the ravages of famine and disease.

SIEGE OF CARTHAGE.

His next enterprise was directed against the quarter of Megara. Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, who was strongly posted in its neighbourhood, was, however, compelled by a series of ingenious manœuvres of the Romans to retreat within the walls. Scipio now gave orders for an assault by night upon the fortifications of Megara, and a large body of well disciplined troops were provided with scaling ladders for the enterprise. The Carthaginians, aroused by the tumult of the attack, offered a desperate resistance, and Scipio was compelled to retreat with heavy loss. Another effort proved more successful: The Romans, observing that a portion of the wall was neglected by the Carthaginian garrison, and upon this point they directed their next assault. By means of pontoons they succeeded in scaling the fortifications, and immediately became masters of Megara. Having secured the entrance to the harbour of Cothon, they now considered the capture of the city as certain and immediate; but the despairing valour of the besieged protracted the defence with unparalleled obstinacy. Finding it in vain to resist

* Appian.

the operations which the Romans were carrying on at the old entrance to the harbour, the inhabitants undertook the astonishing task of building a new fleet, and opening another entrance to the port. At this occupation they laboured day and night; no arm so tender from youth or sex, or so palsied by age and labour, that did not make an exertion to protect their unfortunate city from the cruelty of Rome. The Romans heard the loud noise arising from the Carthaginian harbour, but were at a loss to account for its cause; and with surprise—almost with despair—beheld a numerous fleet of vessels sailing through a new outlet which had been wrought by the untiring energy of the citizens. Had this fleet immediately attacked that of the enemy, the result must have been most disastrous to the Romans, who were totally unprepared. But the Carthaginians unfortunately retired after a useless display, and thus enabled the Romans to prepare for the encounter. Two days later an engagement took place, in which, after a severe conflict, the Carthaginian vessels were obliged to retire with considerable loss, but with every intention of renewing the contest on the ensuing day. Scipio pursued them, and by blockading the harbour again, drove the besieged completely to despair: their miseries were augmented by the tyranny of Asdrubal, who had assumed sovereign authority, and cruelly put to death many Carthaginians of rank, on a charge of conspiracy to abandon the city.

In the spring of the third year of the siege, B.C., 146, Scipio ordered a simultaneous attack upon the harbour and the citadel. After a desperate struggle, the Romans obtained possession of the principal square or market-place; but the streets and citadel were contested with undaunted resolution. Showers of stones and darts were launched upon the heads of the besiegers, and even the very houses were overthrown by their self-devoted inmates, carrying at once destruction to both friend and foe. For six days and as many nights the Romans slowly fought their way with prodigious loss, through streets rendered almost impassable with

the bodies of the slain; on the seventh day—having now arrived at the walls of the citadel—Scipio gave orders that all parts of the city now in the hands of the Romans, should be set on fire. His commands were immediately executed, and the starving garrison of the citadel endeavoured to obtain terms for themselves. Scipio, wearied of the carnage, granted their lives to as many as were willing to surrender. The deserters from the Roman army—nine hundred in number—were exempted from quarter, who having fortified themselves in the temple of *Æsculapius*, resolved to sell their lives as dearly as they could,—still flattering themselves with the hope, that *Asdrubal* would not accept the terms of Scipio; but that general, attended by fifty thousand of the citizens, carrying branches of olive in their hands, surrendered themselves to the Romans. The deserters were filled with rage and despair, and setting fire to the temple, cast themselves into the flames. The wife of *Asdrubal* was amongst those who refused to surrender; standing upon a part of the temple from whence her voice could reach the Roman army, and having upbraided her husband for his pusillanimous choice of a dishonoured life, first cast her children, and then herself into the flames.

DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE.

The destruction of Carthage was now complete, B.C., 146. For fourteen days, we are told, the fire raged through the streets, and Scipio wept on beholding the fate of so great a city, which had contested with Rome for the empire of the world, and was far her superior in commerce and the arts of peace. When the fire had spent itself, and left nothing of Carthage save piles of blackened ruins, Scipio divided the spoils, and rewarded such of his soldiers as had distinguished themselves during the progress of the siege. The very site of of Carthage was carefully obliterated, and a ploughshare drawn across its walls; salt, in the ignorance of age, was sown upon the ground to render it barren, uprecations invoked upon the head of him who

should venture to rebuild it. The noiseless hand of time has effected all that malice or national jealousy could desire; it is almost impossible at the present to discover any traces of this celebrated city, except some ruins of an aqueduct—perhaps the remains of a later period.

The emperor Augustus, having found among the papers of Julius Cæsar a design for the re-building of Carthage, caused a new city to be erected not far from the ancient site; Carthage, thus revived, raised itself to considerable importance in the reigns of the later Roman emperors, and its schools became famous for the cultivation of philosophy:—with modern Europe, it contended in the race of learning and genius, when its fame was illustrated by a Tertullian and an Augustine. In the seventh century, it was completely destroyed by an inroad of the Saracens, from which period the power of Carthage, in common with many other great nations of the world, has passed into oblivion, leaving scarcely a ruin to attest its ancient greatness.

TRIUMPH OF SCIPIO.

The news of the destruction of Carthage having arrived at Rome, the inhabitants displayed the most tumultuous joy, and could hardly persuade themselves that their terrible rival was indeed no more. Many days were devoted to public rejoicings: the temples of the gods were filled with offerings of thanksgiving, and Scipio was awarded a triumph by a decree of the senate. Thousands of unhappy Carthaginian captives walked in this procession, which was adorned with rare and costly works of art, the delight and wonder of the Roman populace. Scipio soon after retired into private life, where he enjoyed the friendship of Lælius, and patronised the literary talents of Terence and Lucilius; Polybius, the learned Greek historian of Rome, enjoyed his confidence;—nor can we sufficiently admire the modesty of Scipio, who, from all the spoils of Carthage, forbade his family to purchase or retain a single article of value.

CORINTH.

In the same year that Carthage was destroyed, the final blow was given by the same hand to Grecian independence. The Greeks had for some time awakened from their dream of Roman virtue; they had unequivocal proof of the harshness and severity with which several of their countrymen were treated by Rome, and were now determined upon making an effort to expel the Roman garrisons from the fortified places in their country. In this they might have succeeded, but for the fatal disunion which prevailed between Sparta and the Achæan league.—The former desired the mediation of Rome, although they must have well known that it would lead to the ultimate subjugation of their country. Ambassadors, at the request of this party, were accordingly sent from Rome, who demanded that Sparta, Corinth, Argos, and some other places of less importance, should be declared independent of the Achæan league. This request, being almost equivalent to the entire dissolution of that confederacy, was received with furious indignation, and the Roman ambassadors were violently assaulted in the theatre at Corinth, for being the bearers of such presumptuous terms. Such intemperate conduct was unsuitable to the present resources, or future prospects of the Greeks; but their two principal leaders, Critolaus and Diæus, men of great professions and vulgar celebrity, insisted that they were well able to repel the aggressive insolence of Rome. The Romans, glad of any occasion which would excuse their grasping policy, sent Cæcilius Metellus with an army against Greece, to chastise its presumption. This general routed the forces of a pretender, who had endeavoured to seize the Macedonian crown; he advanced towards the south, and defeated the Achæan troops under Critolaus, in the territory of Locria. The subjugation of Greece would have been quickly concluded by this enterprising officer, who was a man of taste and generosity, were he not prematurely superseded in the command by Lucius Mummius, an illiterate and remorseless soldier, who

could neither feel for the miseries, nor respect the by-gone glories of unhappy Greece. Disæus prepared to meet him, but his soldiers chiefly consisted of emancipated slaves, who were as unwarlike as their leader was incompetent. A battle at Leucopetra, in the neighbourhood of Corinth, extinguished the hopes of the Achæans: their troops were completely routed, and Disæus escaped the hands of the Romans by self-destruction. Corinth was immediately besieged, but its inhabitants were too paralyzed with terror to offer any resistance. Three days after the battle of Leucopetra, the city was in the hands of the Romans.

Mummius delivered it to indiscriminate plunder, and with barbarous cruelty commanded the massacre of all the male inhabitants. The women and children were sold into slavery, and the city set on fire in several places. Corinth was one of the most ancient cities in Greece, and was filled with the choicest specimens of Grecian art. Statues, from the hands of illustrious sculptors, paintings, curiously wrought vessels of gold and silver, were heaped at the feet of the uncivilized Mummius, who ordered them to be conveyed to Rome; and, in the height of his barbarian ignorance, gave directions to the sailors, that if any of these articles—of the rarest art and value—were destroyed in the passage, *new ones* should be made in their stead! The refinement of Greece was more quickly appreciated by his countrymen, and the capture of Corinth proved a rich source of Roman luxury. Greece was now completely annihilated, for Thebes, and several other cities, shared the fate of Corinth; and this celebrated country, after a brilliant career of about eight centuries of genius, learning, and valour, became a Roman province, under the name of Achæa. Her children emigrated to Rome, whither they carried those arts and sciences which their warlike conquerors at first despised, but afterwards pursued with equal ardour, and the development of Roman literature was hastened by the perusal of the authors of Greece.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The fall of Numantia.—Brutality of Scipio.—Cornelia.—
Tiberius Gracchus revives the Licinian Laws—is slain.—
C. Gracchus—his reforms—his death.

Rome, flushed with the subjugation of two such eminent nations as Carthage and Greece, seems seriously to have considered that any people who aspired to independence were either enemies or rebels, and in such spirit she treated them. For a long time, she assumed imperial power in Spain; but as the inhabitants of that country were Celts, one of whose national characteristics is an indomitable love of country, its subjugation to Roman supremacy was long and difficult. However, on the murder of Viriathus, one of the leaders of the Lusitanians, a murder procured by the treachery of the consul, Q. S. Cæpio, all Lusitania (Portugal) was compelled to submit to Roman dictation. Still, other parts of Spain courageously resisted the invaders: among those was Numantia, a city situated upon the source of the Douro, and whose fall attests the valour of its citizens and the atrocity of its enemies. This war continued for some years, when the consul, Q. Pompeius, was obliged to submit to a peace, but which he was afraid to avow, and broke it without shame. Again was this city besieged by the consul, C. Hostilius Mancinus, whom the Numantines completely routed and compelled to submit to terms the most natural and moderate:—that Numantia was a free state, and should be allowed to maintain her independence.

FALL OF NUMANTIA.

When the treaty, for its ratification, was laid before the Roman senate, it was rejected with scorn; and it was decreed that the consul, C. H. Mancinus, should be delivered up to the Numantines, in proof that this treaty was formally dissolved. The citizens of Numantia declined becoming a party to such equivocation;

nor would they wreak their vengeance upon an individual, because he was unable to control the fate of war. For some years this controversy was prolonged with alternate triumph and defeat; at last, Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Carthage, being appointed consul, B.C., 134, was sent at the head of the Roman army to exterminate an independent people, who only asked their natural rights, and would not bow to the supremacy of Rome. Scipio, instead of deciding this long-contested controversy by the sword, drew four military lines of circumvallation round the city, in order to starve its brave inhabitants into submission.

It was not long before this cruel policy began to tell with fatal effect. The citizens, who had frequently beaten their enemies in the field, by manly warfare, were unprepared for such a siege;—gaunt famine soon made horrid havoc among the devoted Numantines; for some time they lived upon their horses, but at last were driven to the awful alternative of eating the dead carcasses of those of their fellow-citizens who had expired through hunger. The Numantines at last sued for and obtained a truce for three days, to consider what course to pursue. Under their sad circumstances, they knew they had nothing to expect but either to meet a ferocious and savage soldiery, who would plunder, burn, and destroy everything around them; or be reserved in chains and sorrow for the triumph of their conqueror, and then brutally butchered, as a sad epilogue to that Roman drama. The Numantines took another course: the brief interval of truce was occupied by the vast majority of the citizens in killing their families and then themselves. On the third day the gates were opened to the Romans, who beheld with horror and dismay the few wretched survivors of a city that might well be called the city of the dead, B.C., 133. And here it is right to observe, that the Numantines on one occasion during the early part of the siege, having forced the Roman lines, made their way to Lulia, a neighbouring village, where the people admired their courage, and promised them assistance. For this one act of sympathizing with valour in distress, Scipio had

the hands of four hundred of the inhabitants of Lntia cut off upon the spot: this from a man who prided himself upon his high sense of justice. After the fall of Numantia, Spain gave for some years further a sullen submission to the yoke of Rome.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

While Rome was waging successful war against Carthage and Greece, her constitution became the prey of contending factions. Much of those privileges upon which the citizens relied for the security of their civil rights was sacrificed by the ambition of the tribunes, who, being elected members of the senate, espoused the patrician cause, and neglected that trust they had undertaken to defend. The plebeians, deprived of their legitimate protectors, had no resource but passive resistance. At the conclusion of the third Punic war, notwithstanding all their foreign triumphs, the Roman people found themselves sunk to a degree of misery only equalled in the early period of the commonwealth. Their little landed properties had been monopolised by the wealth and avarice of the patricians, and such of their number as had reached the higher ranks through means of successful commercial speculations, were perhaps even more insolent and oppressive than the patricians themselves.

At this period arose two illustrious men—Tiberius and Caius Sempronius Gracchus; their father, Tiberius Gracchus, had won an honourable reputation in Spain, and their mother, Cornelia, was the daughter of the elder Scipio. When other ladies of her order amused themselves in dress and the frivolities of fashion, she dedicated her time exclusively to the education of her sons. On one occasion, being asked by some of her visitants to show them her jewels and other female ornaments, Cornelia presented her children, saying, with a smile,—“These are my only ornaments.” Nor was she more distinguished for her private virtues than her attachment to her country;—although sought in marriage by a king, she preferred to be the

wife of a Roman citizen than that of any monarch in the world.—By this admirable woman the Gracchi were instructed with the greatest care, and from her they imbibed that ardent attachment to freedom for which they were so much distinguished.

Tiberius was elder than Caius by nine years, and had already acquired a distinguished reputation in the Spanish war. Their sister, Sempronia, a woman of strong and deep affections, was married to Scipio Africanus, the destroyer of Carthage,—thus by birth he was a patrician, and his prejudices were naturally on the side of his order; but he was above such narrow views:—the elevation of the poorer order of his countrymen from their degraded yoke was chosen for the field of his ambition: he was elected tribune, B.C. 133.

His first object was to restore the Licinian Law, a statute which decreed that no citizen should possess more than five hundred acres of the public lands, except in case of having two sons, when an additional quantity of two hundred and fifty acres was to be allowed to each son, and the remainder to be divided into equal portions amongst the poorer orders:—none were empowered to part with his property, it being considered to belong to the state. This revival of a law at all times distasteful to the patricians, awaked the unbridled fury of that order, and Tiberius Gracchus was stigmatised with the most odious imputations. The principal leaders of his antagonists were Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and Q. Pompeius, two violent partisans of the patrician faction, who knowing that they would be themselves heavy losers by the enforcement of this agrarian law, considered no means unjustifiable in their resistance to that measure. Tiberius Gracchus was immediately denounced as the advocate of anarchy—the sworn enemy to the constitution of Rome. His opponents spent the day in delivering virulent harangues to crowds of their own clients and retainers, and even succeeded in inducing M. Octavius, one of the tribunes, to pronounce a *veto* to the measures of Gracchus. The latter in vain besought this tribune to withdraw his opposition to a measure of such manifest

CORINTH.

In the same year that Carthage was destroyed, the final blow was given by the same hand to Grecian independence. The Greeks had for some time awakened from their dream of Roman virtue; they had unequivocal proof of the harshness and severity with which several of their countrymen were treated by Rome, and were now determined upon making an effort to expel the Roman garrisons from the fortified places in their country. In this they might have succeeded, but for the fatal disunion which prevailed between Sparta and the Achæan league.—The former desired the mediation of Rome, although they must have well known that it would lead to the ultimate subjugation of their country. Ambassadors, at the request of this party, were accordingly sent from Rome, who demanded that Sparta, Corinth, Argos, and some other places of less importance, should be declared independent of the Achæan league. This request, being almost equivalent to the entire dissolution of that confederacy, was received with furious indignation, and the Roman ambassadors were violently assaulted in the theatre at Corinth, for being the bearers of such presumptuous terms. Such intemperate conduct was unsuitable to the present resources, or future prospects of the Greeks; but their two principal leaders, Critolaus and Diæus, men of great professions and vulgar celebrity, insisted that they were well able to repel the aggressive insolence of Rome. The Romans, glad of any occasion which would excuse their grasping policy, sent Cœcilius Metellus with an army against Greece, to chastise its presumption. This general routed the forces of a pretender, who had endeavoured to seize the Macedonian crown; he advanced towards the south, and defeated the Achæan troops under Critolaus, in the territory of Locria. The subjugation of Greece would have been quickly concluded by this enterprising officer, who was a man of taste and generosity, were he not prematurely superseded in the command by Lucius Mummius, an illiterate and remorseless soldier, who

could neither feel for the miseries, nor respect the by-gone glories of unhappy Greece. Diæus prepared to meet him, but his soldiers chiefly consisted of emancipated slaves, who were as unwarlike as their leader was incompetent. A battle at Leucopetra, in the neighbourhood of Corinth, extinguished the hopes of the Achæans: their troops were completely routed, and Diæus escaped the hands of the Romans by self-destruction. Corinth was immediately besieged, but its inhabitants were too paralyzed with terror to offer any resistance. Three days after the battle of Leucopetra, the city was in the hands of the Romans.

Mummius delivered it to indiscriminate plunder, and with barbarous cruelty commanded the massacre of all the male inhabitants. The women and children were sold into slavery, and the city set on fire in several places. Corinth was one of the most ancient cities in Greece, and was filled with the choicest specimens of Grecian art. Statues, from the hands of illustrious sculptors, paintings, curiously wrought vessels of gold and silver, were heaped at the feet of the uncivilized Mummius, who ordered them to be conveyed to Rome; and, in the height of his barbarian ignorance, gave directions to the sailors, that if any of these articles—of the rarest art and value—were destroyed in the passage, *new ones* should be made in their stead! The refinement of Greece was more quickly appreciated by his countrymen, and the capture of Corinth proved a rich source of Roman luxury. Greece was now completely annihilated, for Thebes, and several other cities, shared the fate of Corinth; and this celebrated country, after a brilliant career of about eight centuries of genius, learning, and valour, became a Roman province, under the name of Achæa. Her children emigrated to Rome, whither they carried those arts and sciences which their warlike conquerors at first despised, but afterwards pursued with equal ardour, and the development of Roman literature was hastened by the perusal of the authors of Greece.

utility to his countrymen ; and even offered to supply, from his own private resources, whatever losses M. Octavius might sustain by the introduction of the law ; but as this tribune still continued obstinate, at the instigation of T. Gracchus, he was deposed from his office by the people, and the agrarian law was carried in the proposed form. Gracchus was hailed as the assertor of the laws of Rome, and the benefactor of the poor ; while unmeasured hatred and opprobrium were heaped upon him by the patricians.

It was about this period that Latin comedy, long cultivated under the form of obscure farces, composed in the rustic dialect of Italy, assumed a new and elegant type, from the genius of the poets Plautus, Terentius, and Cœcilius. Dramatic poetry had flourished in Greece from the period of the Persian war (B.C. 480), under the three-fold aspect of tragedy, comedy, and satyric plays. The last mentioned were principally grotesque tragi-comedies, having for their subject the adventures and sorrows of the wine god, Dionysus or Bacchus, who, by some mystic association of ideas, peculiar to the Greek mind, was at once the representative of jovial reckless mirth, and of the deep and hidden operations of nature, as exemplified in the constantly recurring changes of the seasons ; in the life and death of the vegetable world. The worship of this fabulous personage was of a highly enthusiastic character, and tragedy arose from the frenzied hymns of his votaries, sung while dancing round his altars. Comedy took its origin from the rude jests and merry sarcasms of the vintage processions. At first, personal and political in its character, it became gradually changed to a delineation of the romance of real life, with its thousand embarrassments and misunderstandings. From this source Plautus and Terentius, originally slaves and foreigners, drew largely, and composed a series of comedies, which, in their language alone, were Roman, but in subject and detail, essentially Greek : these pieces were called *Comœdiæ Palliatæ*, from the Pallium or Greek cloak worn by the actors : they were accompanied by flute music, and recited in a measured chanting tone, like modern recitative. In Rome they be-

came highly and deservedly popular ; but have no claim to originality in thought or language, being merely paraphrases of Greek comedies, by Philemon, Menander, and others, which have unfortunately perished. About a dozen of these Roman comedies have been preserved, and are highly interesting to scholars, as the earliest perfect specimens of Latin literature.

When the proper time for the election of the tribunes arrived, T. Gracchus again offered himself as candidate for that important office, to which he would have been certainly appointed but for the intervention of the patrician party, who declared the proceedings illegal. Gracchus saw that the latter were about to execute their schemes for his destruction, and spent the remainder of that day in imploring the protection of the people, reminding them of the dangers which he had incurred in their cause. The excited populace swore to die in defence of their champion, and, on the ensuing morning, the tribes re-assembled in a square before the capitol. The senate was then sitting in the temple of Faith, and the consuls were requested by the partisans of Scipio Nasica to disperse the crowd. On their refusal, preparations were made, by the patricians and their retainers, to assault T. Gracchus and the people ; intelligence of their design was conveyed to Gracchus, who intimated to the plebeians that his life was now in danger. Amid the tumultuous roar of the assembly, he endeavoured to convey his meaning by raising his hand to his head, to intimate the peril which threatened his existence. The action was seen by Nasica and his followers, who interpreted it as an open demand of sovereign authority. The senators seizing every weapon they could reach, even the very legs of the benches upon which they had been sitting, rushed to the meeting, striking down every one who opposed their progress. In the affray Tiberius Gracchus was slain, with three hundred of his adherents : their bodies were cast into the Tiber, and many of their friends were sent into exile by the exasperated patricians. We have even the testimony of Sallust, that several judicial proceedings were instituted against those citizens who had been favourable to the agrarian law, even with the

employment of torture—a practice strictly forbidden by the Roman law against a citizen of the state.

But the agrarian law was not repealed, and the murderers of Tiberius Gracchus suffered severely from the just resentment of his countrymen. Scipio Nasica, fearing for his life, retired into exile to Pergamus, from whence he never returned.* Scipio Africanus, the scourge of Carthage and Numantia, soon afterwards left his retirement and arrived in Rome; this man was looked up to by the senate as their leader. He had already expressed himself in favour of the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, and continued successfully to oppose the designs of a tribune named Caius Papirius Carbo, who proposed a rogation (law), that the same person should be eligible to the office of tribune for an indefinite number of times. Scipio might have still further succeeded in restoring the patricians to their former position, but for his sudden and mysterious death, B.C. 129. He was found dead in his bed on the morning after a stormy debate with the tribunes, and a strong degree of suspicion was attached to Caius Papirius Carbo and his followers, by the friends of Scipio. Such, however, was the violence of party animosity, that it was deemed prudent to avoid all judicial inquiries relative to his death, for fear of occasioning a sedition. The tribunes regarded his death as a victory, and two important laws—that of vote by ballot, and the privileges of the tribunes to convene and vote in the senate, were carried by Carbo and A. Labeo.

CAIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

The senate, in order to mitigate as much as possible the dreadful state of the public mind, consequent upon the murder of such a man as T. Gracchus, artfully placed many leaders of that party in command, and sent them to their several provinces, and who for the most part were engaged some years in the subjugation of southern Gaul.

* It would appear from this that some reaction had taken place, as Scipio and his party had been hitherto triumphant.

Eight years after the death of T. Gracchus, B.C., 124, his brother, Caius Sempronius Gracchus, renewed the contest for plebeian rights, which he considered as a sacred legacy bequeathed to him by his murdered brother. Caius Sempronius Gracchus had been for some period employed in Sardinia, under the consul Orestes, but returned to Rome without leave of his commanding officer. For this violation of military law he was tried and acquitted; shortly afterwards he was elected tribune of the people for the ensuing year.

The measures of Caius S. Gracchus, for what he considered the regeneration of Rome, were even more comprehensive than those of his brother; the avenging of whose murder was his earliest task. He introduced a law by which persons deprived of any public office by the people, were rendered ineligible to any other; but at the solicitation of his mother, to whom he always paid the most filial reverence, he withdrew this bill. He also proposed that any person who had put to death a Roman citizen, without a formal and regular trial according to the constitution, should be publicly prosecuted for the same. Many of the murderers of Tiberius Gracchus had already fled from Rome, and Caius was anxious that the remainder should be held in check by the fear of an impending prosecution. By his influence the agrarian laws were now amended and confirmed, together with some other enactments of peculiar benefit to the state. The army was to be equipped for the future at the public charge, and no person could be compelled to serve in it under the age of seventeen. In his second tribunate, B.C., 122, he introduced a general system of reform in the several courts of justice, which had hitherto been polluted with the most unblushing corruption, particularly in the case of the provinces; these indeed possessed the flattering right of appeal against the rapacity of their rulers, but were sure to be defeated by some legal technicality in the capital, where, in these cases, the judges were the patricians, and who, for the most part, were

the only persons bribed by the accused. To correct, as much as possible, this glaring evil, he proposed that in all cases where a province appealed against the unjust decisions of its governors, the judges should be selected from the Equites (the gentry), a class standing between the aristocracy and the populace, and who, in all countries laying any pretensions to civilization, hold a most respectable position. This was one of the few laws of C. Gracchus that succeeded, and which was for some time attended with the most beneficial results. It was also his intention to extend to the Italian states the franchise and privileges of Rome. But this measure was violently opposed by the patricians, who feared the emancipation of their serfs, and an increased remuneration for the labours of the poor. They had surveyed with rage and disappointment their gigantic fabric of oligarchical power gradually encroached on by the reforms of the Gracchi, and their vengeance proved fatal to the last of these illustrious brothers.

A tribune named M. Livius Drusus was induced by the aristocratic party to propose a series of such measures which the integrity of Caius Gracchus would not allow him to sanction. This plot was concerted, not for the love of popular rights, but to destroy his character in the eyes of the vulgar, who think nothing good but what is in the extreme, and that in their own favour. These measures were—that twelve colonies, consisting of three thousand six hundred men, should be established in Italy and the Roman dependencies, without any regard to the existing interests of the patrician landholders. Gracchus, seeing that such a measure would be a positive injustice to the patricians, opposed it from passing into a law, as was expected, and forfeited his own popularity. On offering himself again for the office of tribune, he was rejected by the votes of his countrymen, and thus deprived of the protection which the privileges of a tribune afforded. A riot between the plebeians and patricians in which a lictor was killed, presented to his enemies an opportunity to invest the consuls with sovereign power, and

provide against any danger to the state.* The latter quickly levied large bodies of their slaves and clients, and by every means in their power endeavoured to provoke the adherents of Gracchus to a contest. One of the consuls, L. Opimius, was the avowed enemy of the ex-tribune, to whom he attributed his ill success upon a former occasion, when candidate for the office which he now held. The energies of Opimius were directed to compass the ruin of the illustrious patriot, and the indiscreet violence of the liberal party accelerated the consummation of the designs which their opponents entertained. The consuls declared the city in a state of insurrection; and Gracchus, with his friend Fulvius Flaccus, fearing for their lives, armed a number of their adherents, and took refuge on the Aventine. Flaccus sent one of his sons to make terms with the consuls; but the youth was seized and inhumanly put to death. A general attack was now made by the consular party against the Aventine Mount; but the terrified plebeians, the adherents of Gracchus, offered them little resistance: three thousand fellow-citizens fell in this unnatural conflict. Flaccus escaped from this dreadful scene into a miserable hut, where, with his eldest son, he was soon discovered and murdered by his pursuers.

DEATH OF C. S. GRACCHUS.

Gracchus, who was from the first unwilling to engage in a contest with his countrymen, seeing the destruction of his friends, took shelter in the temple of Diana; fearing that his adversaries would not respect even this sanctuary, he pursued his flight in the direction of the Grove of the Furies, attended by two trusty companions named Pomponius and Licinius. Before they could arrive at their place of destination, the fugitives were again attacked by the emissaries of the consuls, when Pomponius and Licinius perished in

* This was only done upon occasions of great peril to the state. The form was, "ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet."

defence of their friend. Gracchus besought of a favourite slave to slay him. The faithful servant, in torture of mind, unwillingly executed the command of his beloved master, then planted a dagger in his own heart and fell lifeless upon the body of C. Gracchus.

It is said the head of Gracchus was cut off by a soldier named Septimuleius, who, understanding that the consul Opimius had ordered that its weight in gold should be paid to any one who brought it into his presence, filled it with lead, and received the reward of his ferocity and avarice.*

These two illustrious brothers espoused the cause of the plebeians solely from the love of justice and humanity. When they considered the plebeians wrong, they resisted them, and so fell the victims of their own impartiality. The death of C. Gracchus terminated the massacre of the citizens; but the vengeance of the patricians was not yet satisfied: the bodies of the patriot and his unfortunate followers were ignominiously cast into the Tiber, and a series of judicial proceedings were commenced against such of their number as had escaped the carnage of the Aventine.—Many of his party were thrown into prison, where they were strangled without even the form of trial; others were put to the torture, to extort a confession of some conspiracy which might justify the cruelty under which they suffered. The reforms of the Gracchi, except in the case of the provinces already mentioned, were completely abolished. The public lands were again seized by the patricians. The Roman people returned to their former misery and degradation, and it is at this very period, the most hopeless and depressing which the citizens had ever endured, that we find mention of the dedication of a temple to CONCORD by the patricians!

* I have found no authority to contradict this statement, though it is highly improbable.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Jugurthan War.—Micipsa.—Jugurtha.—Adherbal and Hiempsal.—Intrigues of Jugurtha.—C. Marius solicits the Consulate.—Jugurtha made prisoner—carried to Rome—his death.

For some years the patricians continued to reap the fruits of their inglorious victory, until the exigencies of a formidable war raised up two men of extraordinary courage and abilities, who inflicted upon their country more unqualified misery than it had endured from the sword of Hannibal or the devastations of the Gauls. Caius Marius and Lucius Cornelius Sulla first appear upon the page of Roman history during the war with Jugurtha, king of Numidia, a dangerous and uncertain contest, which exercised the Roman arms for a period of five years. This memorable war has been admirably delineated by the pen of Sallust, a cotemporary of Livy during the reign of Augustus Cæsar; this historian, who was himself for some time governor of Numidia, had ample opportunities of examining the character of the country, and collecting from the inhabitants their traditional narratives of those times.

Numidia is a large and fertile province, lying between the modern districts of Morocco and Tripolis, in the north-west of Africa. Its inhabitants were of the Moorish race; swarthy in their complexions; their hardy and vigorous constitutions fitted them alike for the dangers of war or the fatigues of the chase.

On the death of Masinissa, his son, Micipsa, succeeded to the throne of Numidia. The latter was a prince of mild and unwarlike manners, and strongly attached to the interests of Rome.

JUGURTHA.

Micipsa had a nephew named Jugurtha, a youth of fascinating manners, combined with dauntless courage. His popularity amongst the Numidians was unbounded, and Micipsa, who dreaded lest he might prejudice the

interests of his own two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, resolved to send him with forces to the aid of Scipio, at that time engaged at the siege of Numantia in Spain. The perils of this campaign and the lion-like courage of the Numantines, had reached the ears of the Numidian king, who hoped that the desperate valour of the enemy might remove so dangerous a rival to his own children. Jugurtha proceeded to Numantia, where his military talents soon attracted the attention of Scipio, who reckoned the Numidian youth amongst the wisest and the bravest of his host. By the friendship and society of Scipio, his vanity was flattered,—perhaps his ambition awakened; but his sentiments of honour and integrity were sapped by the conversation of his fellow-officers in the Roman camp, who spoke of the omnipotence of bribes, and the impunity for crime which in Rome could be purchased by gold. After the fall of Numantia, Jugurtha received the public thanks of Scipio, and returned to Numidia, where he presented to the king the flattering testimonials he had received from the Roman general. Micipsa, either repenting of his design, or perceiving its impracticability, received his nephew with affection, and publicly declared that he should share, with his own sons, the government of Numidia. A few years afterwards the old king breathed his last, imploring Jugurtha on his death-bed to protect his children.

On the demise of Micipsa, the three princes, Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha, met together to arrange the future administration of the state. Hiempsal was a young man of violent temper, who detested Jugurtha as an adventurer, whom the absurd partiality of his father had admitted to a share in his kingdom, to the prejudice of his own legitimate successors. Filled with this sentiment, he lost no opportunity of irritating and insulting the latter; although his brother Adherbal, a prince of mild and generous temperament, made every exertion to restrain him. Jugurtha feigned indifference to the insults of Hiempsal. Instead of acting conjointly in the government of the kingdom of Numidia, these princes, having

divided it into three several provinces, separated, to assume the government of their respective territories. Jugurtha, fearing the energy of Hiempsal, made every effort for his destruction. In the year, B.C., 117, the latter was assassinated by a bravo, who obtained false keys to a fortress in which Hiempsal ordinarily resided—perhaps through some instinctive terror of the machinations of Jugurtha.

Scarcely had Adherbal recovered from the shock received by the intelligence of his brother's murder, when he heard that Jugurtha was about to invade his section of the kingdom. The former, seeing there was no time for delay, hastily assembled all the troops he could command and hazarded a battle with the invader, in which he was totally defeated, and fled for protection to Rome, where he pleaded his own cause with great eloquence before the Roman senate, reminding them of the services they had received from his grandfather, Masinissa; drawing at the same time a melancholy picture of his own deplorable condition and the cruel murder of his brother. The senate were disposed to assist him; but the patronage of too many of the conscript fathers had been already purchased by the presents of Jugurtha, to render substantial justice to their suitor. The senate was contented to decree that ten commissioners should be appointed to divide again the kingdom of Numidia between Jugurtha and Adherbal. The chief of these commissioners was L. Opimius, who had signalised himself in the murder of Caius Gracchus; but L. Opimius, with several of his fellow-commissioners, were induced by the presents of the usurper to effect a most unjust distribution of the contested territories. The commissioners returned, and Jugurtha prepared anew for war.

The unhappy Adherbal again sent messengers to Rome, complaining of this conduct; but his remonstrances were neglected, for the party of Jugurtha was now too potent in Rome, and he himself was already besieging Adherbal in his capital of Cirta.* The unfortunate

* Now Constantinch.

prince made a vigorous resistance, but finding his garrison suffering from famine and disease, sent an imploring letter to the Roman senate for protection and help. Although many members of that assembly were corrupt, yet the main body was pure, and on this occasion they acted with honour and decision. They sent ambassadors into Africa to investigate this matter; when Jugurtha, learning that the conscript fathers were determined to protect the unfortunate Adherbal, resolved at all hazards to complete the enterprise which he had begun, trusting to destiny or good fortune to elude the punishment of disobedience to the commands of the senate. The ambassadors, deceived by the plausible representations of Jugurtha, returned to Rome, believing Adherbal to be in fault. Cirta, overpowered by famine, now surrendered: the inhabitants were all massacred, and the unhappy Adherbal was put to a cruel death, B.C., 112.

The intelligence of this event created general indignation at Rome; and the eloquent tribune, C. Memmius, exposed the fraud and perjury of several of the patricians who were deeply engaged in these nefarious transactions. The usurper was summoned to Rome, where he too successfully plied his gold upon the extravagant and impoverished nobility. The consul, L. C. Bestia, and his legate, M. A. Scaturus, were corrupted by his bribes, and he even induced the tribune, Q. Boebius, to prevent his trial from proceeding. By such a movement, in all probability, Jugurtha might have baffled justice, but for his own audacity. Massiva, a cousin of Adherbal, was at this time in Rome, and hoping that, in the event of the condemnation of Jugurtha, the crown of Numidia might devolve upon himself, as next legal heir, made every exertion to promote the conviction of the murderer. Jugurtha resolved to remove him from his path, and Massiva was assassinated by a Numidian in the very streets of Rome. The murderer was arrested, and being put to the torture, accused Bomilcar, an intimate friend and companion of Jugurtha. The Numidian usurper contrived to screen his favourite from the pursuit of justice by send-

ing him out of the country. But he now received imperative orders to quit Rome—commands which he was too prudent to neglect. On leaving Rome on his journey homewards, he suddenly turned round, and surveying the distant metropolis in silence for some time, exclaimed, "That city is for sale, and will perish when it finds a purchaser."

The senate and people of Rome were disgusted at the perfidy of Jugurtha. In a short time Numidia was invaded by a Roman army, B.C., 110, under Sp. Postumius Albinus, a man by no means calculated to contend with the wily Numidian. A whole year was passed in fruitless attempts to bring Jugurtha to a battle; and Albinus, in his love of party intrigue, set out for Rome to be present at the next consular election. His brother, Aulus, whom he intrusted with the command of the army during his absence, was even still more incompetent. Jugurtha deluded Aulus with promises of submission, and at last lured him into an ambuscade, in which he was taken prisoner with his entire army. Jugurtha, thinking it inexpedient to detain them captives, gave them permission to depart from Numidia within ten days, having first inflicted upon them the degrading punishment of passing under the yoke.

The intelligence of this defeat and disgraceful treaty concluded by Aulus caused general indignation at Rome. Q. Cæcilius Metellus and Marcus Silanus were elected to the consular office—the former was appointed to the command of the African army. Metellus quickly restored the discipline of the Roman forces, and defeated the Numidian king in several important engagements. Jugurtha still was desirous of peace, and constantly endeavoured to treat with Metellus; but the latter turned upon him the same stratagems which had proved disastrous to Aulus, and the Numidian king upon several occasions narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Romans. At length, abandoning all hopes of peace, he resolved upon defending to the last the kingdom which he had acquired by fraud and treachery. Metellus, he was aware, was now marching

upon him; when, choosing a narrow defile overrun with brushwood, he ordered his troops to lie in ambush, and awaited the approach of Metellus. The sharp-sighted Roman perceived the snare, and commanded his troops to halt, when they were immediately attacked by the Numidian army and thrown into considerable disorder. Metellus made great exertions to rally his soldiers; and an attempt made by Bomilcar upon the Roman camp having proved a failure, the Numidian troops took to flight, but not before the Roman army had lost heavily in the encounter.

Jugurtha now retired into the fastnesses of Numidia, whither he was pursued by Metellus, who ravaged the the country around, taking in his progress several important cities. The fortified town of Zama successfully resisted his assaults, and while engaged in its siege his camp was surprised by the indefatigable Jugurtha. The Numidian was repelled by a Roman officer, whose eloquence and courage were then fast attracting the notice of both the army and the senate.

CAIUS MARIUS.

Caius Marius was a native of Arpinum, of humble origin. The career of talent is always interesting, and not unfrequently attended with the variety and charm of dramatic incident. This man is said to have been in early life a labourer, then a private soldier, from which he raised himself to the highest rank in his profession. He had endeared himself to the Roman people by his warm espousal of their cause, and by his continual invectives against the upper classes of society. His military talents had raised him to importance in the eyes of Metellus, who, however, slighted his humble origin, and lost no opportunity to express such an ungenerous feeling. Shortly after a signal victory obtained by Caius Marius over the forces of Jugurtha, the former applied to Metellus for leave to go to Rome and offer himself as a candidate for the consulship. The request was haughtily refused :—Marius, without leave, proceeded to the capital; there he solicited the votes of the

people, and was elected consul without one dissenting voice. He was also appointed to succeed Metellus in Africa; and this general, who considered the African campaign almost brought to a termination, was now obliged to relinquish his command in favour of a man whom he had so lately scorned.

Before Marius had returned to Africa, a conspiracy had been organized by Bomilcar and some others to deliver Jugurtha into the hands of the Romans; but the plot having been discovered, the traitors were punished with death. Marius, on his election to the consulate, proceeded to Utica, where he assumed the command of the army, B.C., 107.

Jugurtha, defeated on all sides by the energy of the Romans, and fearing the treachery of his friends, fled to Bocchus, king of Getulia, who was allied to him by marriage. This sovereign was induced by the Numidian prince to join him in a war with Rome; and their united force soon approached the army of Marius, but retired without coming to a battle. Marius having pursued them, was greatly checked in his career by the violent heat of the season and the sterility of the soil, which afforded neither food nor shelter to his soldiers. During his march he encountered most obstinate resistance from the fortresses belonging to Jugurtha. On one occasion he was suddenly assailed by the Numidian king and his new ally, who obliged him to retreat after a long and sanguinary engagement. But in the dead of the same night, Marius, burning with impatience to retrieve his reputation, assailed the Numidian camp with such deadly effect, that almost the entire army of Jugurtha was cut to pieces.

Bocchus, perceiving the hopeless nature of the enterprise in which he was engaged, and dreading the vengeance of Rome, sent deputies to the camp of Marius to treat with him for peace. The Roman general received them politely, and ordered his lieutenant, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, to return with them to Bocchus, and induce that prince, if possible, to deliver Jugurtha into his hands. Sulla executed this dangerous trust with firmness and ability; he passed on his way

through the camp of the enemy; and Jugurtha appears to have forgotten his natural talent for stratagem in not having secured the person of Sulla; but it would appear that the latter was reserved for the devastation of his native land. Arriving at the camp of Bocchus, Sulla urged with so much force and address the necessity of making peace with Rome, that Bocchus privately consented to the surrender of Jugurtha. This matter being settled upon, the latter was invited to a conference with the Roman general, in order to see, as was alleged, what terms might be proposed to effectuate a peace. Jugurtha attended the meeting, when he was surrounded by a large body of Roman soldiers, who lost no time in carrying their captive to Italy.

The Romans surveyed with awe and delight the countenance of this terrible enemy, who had routed so many of their armies, and defeated their generals. He was led a chained captive in the triumph of Marius, together with his two sons. As soon as that laborious parade of vanity closed, several of the Roman soldiers rushed upon Jugurtha, as tigers upon their prey. In snatching at the ornaments suspended from the ears of the Numidian king, in their impatience for plunder, they tore open the ears themselves. The unhappy man was then lowered down into a dark and gloomy dungeon, where, after six days suffering, death closed his career in the dreadful pangs of hunger. Except for the cause of humanity, few can sympathize with Jugurtha: he was a usurper and a murderer; still we must be shocked at the low standard of public feeling in Rome, when such barbarity could be practised on a fallen foe, and that with the sanction of a government pretending to civilization.

The capture of Jugurtha by Sulla proved a source of great jealousy and distrust between that general and Marius, so fatally developed during the progress of the Mithridatic war.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Teutoni and Cimbri.—The Marsic War.—Revolt of the Italian States.—Battle at Asculum.

No sooner had the Jugurthan war been brought to a conclusion by the indomitable arms of Rome, than the conquerors were seriously alarmed at a most formidable invasion, B.C., 113, by the Celtic Cimbri and the German Teutoni. This war continued for about twelve years, during which the Romans were repeatedly routed. The last defeat the latter received from the swords of these barbarians was on the banks of the Rhone, when two consular armies were beaten, at a loss of no less than 120,000 men. The Cimbri then marched into Spain, where they remained for about three years, when they and the Teutoni returned into Gaul with the intention of invading Italy.

This intelligence naturally awakened the fears of the Romans, who had already so severely experienced the power of this formidable foe. All eyes were now turned upon C. Marius, as the only hope of trembling Rome, and he was elected to the consulship while yet in Numidia. In a time comparatively short, the energetic Marius placed himself at the head of an army composed of his veteran troops from Africa and newly-raised recruits. Coming up with the Teutoni at Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), after a dreadful battle, he completely routed them. Still, the Cimbri had already crossed the Rætian Alps, and had descended into Lombardy. The consul, Lutatius Catulus, had there placed himself to dispute their further progress; but seeing their vast numbers, was obliged to retire before them and cross the Po. Marius on learning these particulars, hastened from Gaul with his forces, and joining them with those of L. Catulus, B.C., 101, in the neighbourhood of Verona, the two adverse armies met. It is said, that the front lines of the Cimbri were bound together by chains, in order to prevent the Roman charge from breaking that order. Marius drew up his line so that

the sun and wind were in front of the enemy. After a dreadful battle the Cimbri were entirely routed, at the loss of 14,000 men, and 60,000 prisoners. A small part of the barbarians effected their retreat, and finally settled in Belgium. Marius enjoyed a splendid triumph, and was hailed the third founder of Rome.

THE MARSIC WAR.

When the Romans had first entered into the serious controversy with Mithridates, king of Pontus, the vitals of Italy were torn by an unnatural war of extermination between Rome and her provincial allies; this was called the Social or Marsic war. It has been already noticed, that several efforts were made by the Italian states to recover or maintain their original independence. When those states found their efforts for self-government had failed, and that they were compelled to own the supremacy of Rome, they naturally claimed a share in the liberty of their conquerors; but their hopes were invariably frustrated. Too powerless any longer to defend themselves in the field, they became contemptible in the eyes of the Romans, who treated their claims with insult, and their loss of liberty as a crime.

The gross abuses known to have existed on the part of the patricians, especially in all provincial cases, of which they were the judges, had led to the practice of dividing this power between the Equites and the senators; but in a short time the former were found as corrupt as the patricians themselves, whose avarice and partiality it was vainly hoped this new element in the judicial department would correct.

The senate hated the equestrian order, looking upon this body as intruders on their privileges; therefore they gladly endeavoured to deprive them of power, as incompetent or corrupt magistrates. The Equites resisted this as a monopoly, and declared to the people, that the liberty of Rome was being endangered by the overweening ambition of the patrician party. Between these contending factions the provincials received no redress. For some years back, many Italians lived in

Rome, where they enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens, as a matter of courtesy or toleration; but at the very time the Italian states were engaged in demanding their admission to Roman citizenship, the consul, L. Licinius Crassus, and Q. Mucius Scaevola, most perversely carried a law, enacting, that all who had thus illegally assumed those rights should discontinue them, and live in Rome merely as aliens. This measure caused fresh dissensions, and was felt as an insult to the provincials. The Equites were opposed to the claims of the Italians;—the senate supported them. In this state of factious division, the tribune, M. Livius Drusus, embraced, with his usual ability, the side of the discarded Italians, who looked upon him as their only hope and leader; but he was suddenly and mysteriously murdered in his own house, by some assassin who fled and left his dagger in the wound of his victim.

REVOLT OF THE ITALIAN STATES.

The death of Drusus was a fatal blow to the hopes of the Italians, who, in despair, now determined upon revolt, B.C., 90. At first their object was to compel the Romans to accord them the citizenship; but seeing their numbers increase beyond their expectations, they changed their views, and resolved to destroy Rome, and erect Italy into one vast federal republic. The states that combined for this purpose included the finest portion of the Italian peninsula. The deputies of this confederacy met at Asculum, a city of southern Italy, near the Aufidus. There they deliberated on their future policy, when they resolved that the new republic should be governed by a senate of five hundred members, two annual consuls, with other officers of a subordinate authority. To this meeting the Roman prætor, S. Cæpio, together with his legate, went, in order to persuade the leaders of the confederacy to abandon their hostility to Rome; but their remonstrance was received with such indignation that they were murdered by the populace of Asculum, together with all the Romans found within the walls of that city.

The first consuls of the confederated states were Silo Papædus and Caius Papius Mutilus. This insurrection spread far and wide, and had not the Etruscans and the Latin states been too timid to engage in this formidable confederacy, the supremacy of Rome in Italy was at an end. For this fidelity, the consul, L. Julius Cæsar, deemed it prudent to grant to these states that franchise for which the Marsi and their companions had sued in vain. Upon these concessions being granted, thousands of Latin recruits soon filled the Roman ranks, and the war was carried on with great energy by both parties.

The Marsi were looked upon by the Romans as the most dangerous of their foes:—these were descended from the Sabines, a race distinguished for the simple frugality of their manners, and a strong martial predilection; this tribe for years had supplied the armies of Rome with the boldest of her infantry. Their defeat of the consul Rutilius Lupus had likewise raised them to the chief position of the Italian confederacy, which they never lost during the progress of the war. Although Marius had defeated the Marsi in a general engagement, and killed Herius Asinius, one of their bravest chiefs, still, for nearly two years, the advantages gained by the Romans were inconsiderable. The loss of the later books of Livy, and the inaccuracy of other Roman annals, have left the account of those times in an extremely faulty state.

BATTLE OF ASCULUM.

The first decided victory gained by the Romans in this controversy was the battle at Asculum, where the united forces of the Marsians and Vestinians—70,000 strong—were routed by the consul Gneius Pompeius Strabo; most of their army perished on the battle field. Asculum was taken, and suffered the worst horrors of civil war.

The Samnite consul, C. Papius Mutilus, had still an immense army at his disposal, and maintained the contest with L. Julius Cæsar, in Campania; while Sulla was actively employed against the Hirpinians and

Samnites—whom he defeated in several important battles. His energy, combined with that of his colleague, Quintus Pompeius, soon brought this war to a favourable conclusion for the Romans, who at first had reason to tremble, not for their power, but even their existence. The Marsic consul, Silo Papædus, had fallen in battle ; and the Vestinians and Peligni, left without a leader, were the first to make terms with the Romans :—an act which so shook the confidence of the entire Italian confederacy, that each state looked for its own separate security ; and the Marsi, with other tribes, consented to make peace with their successful enemy. But happily their position was still too strong to permit the execution of that vengeance for which the Romans thirsted, and which they were at last obliged to forego, by acknowledging the complete emancipation of the Italian states, whose liberties were still further secured by a law introduced in the year, B.C. 89, by M. Plautius Silvanus and Caius Papirius Carbo, decreeing, that the rights of Roman citizenship should be extended to all the cities of Italy, except to the Samnites, who still continued their hostilities, and who finally joined the party of Marius in that dreadful civil war that almost inhumanized the Romans.

The consequences of the Marsic war were most disastrous : 300,000 natives of Italy perished by the sword, and some of its noblest cities, such as Nola, Alba, Asculum, and Capua were destroyed. The domestic feuds of Sulla and Marius served only to complete the general ruin. In Rome the factions still continued to offer every opposition to the enfranchisement of Italy ; and it was for a considerable period a subject of discussion, whether or not the inhabitants of the country districts were to be admitted amongst the thirty-five Roman tribes. After tedious debates, it was resolved that they should be formed into new tribes ; but the number of which is variously stated at eight, ten, and fifteen ; they were not, however, to give their votes in the comitia* until the citizens of Rome had concluded theirs.

* Those assemblies of the people, convened by a magistrate, for the purpose of putting any subject to their vote.

CHAPTER XXIX.

First Mithridatic War.—Mithridates sends an army into Greece.—Siege of Athens.—Sulla spares the city.—Works of Aristotle, how preserved.—Second Mithridatic war.

The Romans were now engaged in the Mithridatic war, which, with the exception of the Carthaginian, was the longest they ever waged with any nation.

That part of Asia Minor known as the kingdom of Pontus, (at present forming the western extremity of Armenia Major,) was now governed by Mithridates Eupator, who claimed to be a lineal descendant of one of those seven Persian princes who despatched the usurper Smerdis, the Magian; placed the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hystaspes, and obtained by this act separate and independent governments for themselves. The district of Pontus fell by lot to the ancestor of Mithridates.

Mithridates Eupator, on the death of his father, who had been treacherously murdered, ascended the throne of Pontus at the early age of twelve years. Like many other characters whose names fill the historic page, and alternately awaken feelings of admiration and pain, the birth of this prince, as well as his accession to sovereignty, is said to have been ushered to the world by the appearance of a comet that shone in the heavens for seventy days. By these omens, it was said that the future career of the child would be a scourge to his people.* Mithridates, in the ferocity of his nature, having very soon murdered his mother and almost all his relatives, the superstitious world immediately read those celestial wonders in the only manner ignorance has, and ever will explain them—as the mysterious exponents of futurity.

Mithridates had, by the grossest violence, usurped the kingdom of Cappadocia. But the Roman senate, fearing the ambition and growing power of this prince,

* Justin, Lib. 37.

protested against the usurpation, and declared Cappadocia a free state; when the people of that country chose Ariobarzanes, a noble of their own nation, for a king. L. C. Sulla was despatched by the conscript fathers with an army to support Ariobarzanes in his new kingdom, and Mithridates was obliged to renounce his claims, which he did in silence and apparent submission; but in his breast this act of expulsion left a wound which time could not heal, and vengeance only cure.—Such was the origin of the first Mithridatic war, B.C., 91.

In a period comparatively short, Mithridates induced his son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia, to unite their forces; and having expelled Ariobarzanes, and also Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, from their territories, placed his own son on the throne of Cappadocia. The ejected princes applied to Rome for protection, and once more that imperial republic asserted its insulted authority, by reinstating Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes in their former power.

These contentions having greatly exhausted the resources of Nicomedes, he borrowed large sums at high interest from several money lenders in Rome, who now became importunate for the payment of their usurious demands. Nicomedes having no other means for the discharge of those incumbrances, entered the territory of Mithridates with a large army, and having ravaged it to a considerable extent, returned to his own dominions laden with booty;—with the proceeds of this plunder he defrayed his extensive engagements.

Of this aggression Mithridates complained to the Roman generals in Cappadocia, by commissioners whom he despatched especially for that purpose. Those commissioners, seeing the indifference with which they were received, added, that if Rome did not render justice to their master, he was in a position to protect himself. The threat so offended the Roman generals that they ordered the commissioners out of their presence, declaring that Mithridates should not dare to disturb either Ariobarzanes or Nicomedes,—a mandate which the king of Pontus answered by marching his forces at once

into Cappadocia, whence he again expelled Ariobarzanes, and once more placed his own son on the vacant throne.

MITHRIDATES PREPARES FOR WAR.

An act so daring struck all but Mithridates himself with surprise; but he had long matured his plans, and meditated revenge. No less than two and twenty nations, all speaking different languages, he had for some time before drawn to his interests—people who were disgusted with the arrogance of their Roman conquerors; ground to the earth by ceaseless tyranny, and glad to league with any chief likely to effect their freedom. Mithridates, finding himself at the head of an army of 40,000 horse, 250,000 foot, with a naval armament of 400 ships, conceived that the hour had arrived for an open declaration of war. For this purpose he addressed his legions in a formal harangue.

"Fellow-soldiers," said he, "the wanton aggression of the Romans and their vassals of Bithynia have left it unnecessary to tell the world who began this controversy: an aggression which proclaims that we have nothing less to expect than honourable death, or triumphant liberty; for we are resolved to meet any fate but slavery. For my part, I am confident of success: the circumstances of the times are auspicious, and beckon us to liberty. Can we doubt this when we behold the Cimbri and Teutoni, with their hundreds of thousands, in search of food and settlements, marching upon Italy? The Marsi, too, infest the heart of the empire, while the bloody factions of Sulla and Marius are contending in the very capital for masterdom.—Yes, yes, fellow-soldiers, this is the hour to teach humiliation to those haughty despisers of kings. I will lead you to a land worthy of your valour and enterprise;—a rich and prolific soil;—a sweet and happy climate;—a country abounding in opulent cities that invite rather than repel invasion: but who can repel it, with all Asia and her vast resources to aid us:—that Asia, so long plundered and oppressed by corrupt judges, and the innu-

merable hordes of harpies in the train of those foreigners, calls aloud upon us to avenge the offended rights of humanity.*

Nor were the Romans backward in this stirring scene. The generals of the republic, then in Asia, were too indignant at this fresh insult upon their authority to wait for the tardy instructions from the capital, especially when this formidable adversary was ready to take the field. All the disposable legions in Asia Minor they collected together, and arranged them into three divisions. The first was commanded by L. Cassius, the second by Manius Aquilius, the third by Q. Oppius; each of these generals had an army of forty thousand horse and foot. With this vast armament of disciplined veterans they commenced hostilities. Whether from the want of judicious co-operation with each other, or too great a contempt for the army of the enemy, and too high an opinion of their own, they were unsuccessful from the outset, and beaten on several occasions;—in a short time their spirits became so broken, that they at last fell an easy conquest to the enemy; and the remnant of this fine army fled in dismay, when Manius Aquilius and Q. Oppius were taken prisoners. A result so unexpected and decisive, acted as an electric shock throughout the entire Roman empire. Mithridates was hailed as a public benefactor; the entire of Asia Minor, several cities of Greece, and all the islands of the Egean, (Rhodes alone excepted,) cast off their allegiance to Rome, and declared their adhesion to the Asiatic king.†

Mithridates, although he may have struck for the independence of his own country, was no less a savage.—Manius Aquilius, upon the breaking up of his army fled he knew not whither. In consequence of his agonised state of mind and exhaustion of body, he was seized with illness. In this state of depression and anxiety, he made his way to Mitylene, the capital of

* Justin., lib. 38.

† Appian in *Mithridatica*.

Lesbos, where he vainly expected repose and restoration; but the treacherous Mityleneans, although he was lying on his sick bed, gave him up to the implacable Mithridates, who, considering the policy of M. Aquilius as the origin of the war, treated that general with the grossest barbarity. At one time he would order his unhappy prisoner to be placed upon an ass, and compel him, in the sight of a triumphant soldiery, and amid their ribaldry, to cry out aloud, "I am M. Aquilius." At other times he would exhibit his ill-fated captive in chains, fastened to the tail of a horse that dragged him along before the public view: at last, the monster's vengeance becoming tired of his own brutality, he caused his prisoner to swallow a quantity of molten lead, which terminated the prolonged miseries of M. Aquilius. Besides this atrocity, he caused no less than 80,000 Italians, of every age, condition, and sex, to be assassinated in one day, B.C., 88, throughout the several cities and towns of Asia Minor.*

The very name of Mithridates was now heard with fear—it acted as a talismanic charm, and few out of the confines of Italy were disposed to resist or question its potency. Availing himself of this general dismay, he sent a vast army to take possession of Athens. The city of Minerva was too prudent to doubt the right of the barbarian. His general, Archelaus, entered the city in triumph, and, in a short time, drew to the interests of his master several of the states of Greece.

All Asia and Greece were now violently torn from the Roman trunk, upon which they had long been grafted; while Gaul and other distant members of the empire looked with a sympathetic spirit for the catastrophe:—these disasters, though they caused much excitement in the capital, were met with fortitude and alacrity.

L. C. Sulla, the dictator, was intrusted with a Roman army, to chastise Mithridates and restore public tranquillity.

* Epitome Livii.—L. Florus.—Appian in Mithridaticis.

SIEGE OF ATHENS.

Sulla sailed immediately for Greece, with the comparatively small army of 15,000 foot and 1,500 horse. All the cities of that country opened their gates as he approached, except Athens, which indeed unwillingly resisted his summons to surrender; it being then governed by the tyrant Aristion, a minion of Mithridates. This once glorious city was besieged, and after suffering the scourges of war and famine for several months, was taken by Sulla, B.C., 86. The tyrant Aristion was one of the first objects of his vengeance, and justly, as he had provoked a power which he had no reasonable hopes to conquer, and wantonly entailed unheard-of miseries upon the unhappy Athenians. The few remaining inhabitants who survived the famine and the horrors of the siege, were given up to the sword. But the Roman general would not permit the city to be fired by his enraged legions—so struck was he with admiration on viewing its noble porticoes, theatres, and temples, where philosophy and genius indulged in the elegant refinements of an ennobling literature; where the muse of her poets, historians, and orators—the valour of her patriots—were consecrated at every altar, and almost breathed in every statue. This was a reverential compliment, which even the savage Sulla paid to the inborn majesty of intellectual excellence—an excellence which continues to charm and enlighten the most civilized nations of the world.

Sulla having obtained two signal victories over the generals of the Asiatic king, all the adherents of the latter fled from Greece, and Mithridates was compelled to sue and accept a peace, B.C., 85, upon the most humiliating terms: such was the conclusion of the first Mithridatic war.

WORKS OF ARISTOTLE.

These affairs being thus settled, Sulla sailed from Ephesus for Greece, where he landed on the third day, and became almost the unconscious instrument of introducing the works of Aristotle to the Roman people.

Aristotle, the famous peripatetic philosopher, and perhaps the most comprehensive genius of ancient or modern times, dying, bequeathed his literary labours to the care of his disciple, Theophrastus, who, in his turn, bequeathed them to one Neleus of Scepsis, in Asia. The heirs of Neleus being coarse, ignorant persons; or, as some suppose, fearing that the king of Pergamus, then forming a public library, would seize the works of the great philosopher, locked them up in a damp cellar, where they remained for nearly one hundred and thirty years, until the descendants of Neleus, having become extremely poor, gladly sold this bequest to Appellicon, a rich Athenian of a refined taste and elegant enjoyments. Appellicon, on becoming master of a prize so highly valued, carefully caused copies of the work to be made, and wherever, by the operation of damp or time, any part of the original had been destroyed, the chasm was filled up with the most probable term that would suit the author's idea. Appellicon was now dead, and Sulla seized his library, and, on his return to Rome, placed the labours of the sage of Stagyra in his own library, where Tyrannion the grammarian was permitted to transcribe a copy, and from him Andronicus of Rhodes gave the first edition of the works of Aristotle.

This was, perhaps, the only benefit that Sulla ever conferred upon the world.*

The second Mithridatic war was of short duration. Murena, whom Sulla had left in the government of Asia, having committed several aggressions on Mithridates, the latter flew to arms, and coming up with the forces of Murena, at Sinope, the Roman general was defeated. Sulla disapproved of the measures of the latter; Mithridates being anxious for a cessation of hostilities, the former concluded a peace with that monarch, B.C., 81.

* This story is doubted by some German critics. See Ritter's *Ancient Philosophy*, 3 vol., p. 25.

CHAPTER XXX.

Marius—his flight from Rome—the popular account of, corrected.—L. Cornelius Cinna driven from the city.—Cruelty of Marius—his death and character.—Sulla pardons J. Cæsar—his saying thereon—this account doubtful.—M. Lepidus.—Sertorius.—Spartacus.

L. C. Sulla had been lately appointed consul, when he received Asia as his province and the seat of his government. The jealousy of Marius towards him had been gaining ground from day to day. The breaking out of the Mithridatic war afforded the latter an opportunity of endeavouring to overreach him. Gaining to his party the eloquent plebeian tribune, Publius Sulpicius, the latter repealed the law which decreed that the newly-admitted Italian citizens should vote in new tribes; and then enacted, that, on the contrary, the new citizens should vote in common among the thirty-five original tribes already existing. This enlargement of the franchise threw considerable influence into the hands of the democratic party, of which Marius was the recognised leader; and as all the Italian states were, for the most part, his admirers, hence he had a vast majority of the electoral body in his favour, and by which he contrived to have himself appointed to the command of the army against Mithridates.

Sulla was then at Nola, prosecuting the war still lingering in Samnium. On learning the intrigues of his rival, he at once marched his legions to Rome. The citizens, who in general had espoused the party of Marius, were filled with terror, and closed the gates at the approach of Sulla, but they were quickly forced open. The Marian party, having vainly endeavoured to stop the progress of their enemy, were compelled to retreat. Marius and his son, together with their friend Sulpicius, effected their escape. These were immediately declared outlaws by the triumphant Sulla, who, however, in this case acted with much lenity to the remainder of the citizens, consenting himself with reversing the obnoxious decrees. Sulpicius was discovered and put to

death at Laurentium; Marius took shelter among the marshes of Minturnæ, where he lay in a most pitiable condition for some time, until he was accidentally discovered. The humanity of the inhabitants taking compassion on his fallen state, after refreshing him from the consequence of the cold and hunger he had suffered in his flight, furnished him with a small vessel and all other necessities to transport himself to Africa. Marius, landing at Carthage, forgot his misfortunes in contemplating the ruins of that celebrated city, so long the rival and terror of Rome, while he thought on Hannibal, his triumphs, and his fate.

THE FLIGHT OF MARIUS CONSIDERED.

In this incident in the life of Marius, I have followed Cicero,* who lived in those times, spoke with Marius, and therefore must have had better opportunities to judge than any of those who record these events. The common story is, that the people of Minturnæ, having discovered Marius in his retreat, conveyed him immediately to prison; that the magistrates of the place, *fearing the wrath of Sulla*, sent a Gallic soldier to assassinate the aged warrior in his dungeon, whom Marius so scared by his voice and look, that he retired in dismay; that the same Minturnians then placed Marius on ship-board and conveyed him to Africa. In this account there is more than one improbability.—First, the Minturnians convey Marius to prison, they then procure an assassin to murder him, but the assassin becomes *nervous*! and the Minturnians, although they feared the vengeance of Sulla, provide Marius with a ship and send him to Africa, beyond the reach of his enemy!

Sulla, having conquered his enemies, after a short delay in Rome, proceeded to the Mithridatic war; when the party of Marius was espoused by Lucius Cornelius Cinna, who was elected consul in the year, B.C., 87, having Cn. Octavius for his colleague.

Cinna proposed a law by which all those banished by Sulla should be recalled, and their property restored.

* Pro Flacco,

The senate, terrified at the prospect of another contest with Sulla, declared Cinna a public enemy; deposed him from the consulship; and drove him, with six of the tribunes, from the city. The exiled consul, enraged at this treatment, immediately levied an army and sent for Marius, who quickly answered the call, and landed on the coast of Etruria. The appearance of the aged chief was hideous from melancholy and neglect. He refused to receive the lictors sent to him in token of respect by Cinna; and busied himself at once in collecting and encouraging his adherents. The terrified senate were deprived of all communication with Sulla, and found it too late to tender their submission to the insurgents.

The united armies of Cinna and Marius, having committed great ravages in the north of Italy, proceeded to invest Rome itself;—famine already stared the unhappy citizens in the face, and they reluctantly surrendered to the rebels, who pledged themselves to abstain from violence. Marius pretended extreme respect for the laws of his country, and requested that his banishment should be repealed before he entered the city; but, without giving time for the performance of this compulsory ceremony, he ordered his sanguinary myrmidons to fall upon the defenceless citizens. The slaughter continued for five days, and the noblest and best citizens of Rome were its victims:—the armed slaves and soldiers of Marius rushed from house to house with horrid exultation, as they dragged from their hiding-places the unfortunate partisans of Sulla, and consigned them ruthlessly to the sword. The ties of kindred and fidelity were all broken asunder, and the unhappy city was subjected at the hands of its own inhabitants to the worst horrors which it could have feared from the fiercest of its foreign enemies.—Cinna, wearied with the butchery, begged of Marius to destroy a band of emancipated slaves who had been his chief instruments in the assassination of his enemies, and their immediate execution was completed by Quintus Sertorius, afterwards so celebrated for his defence of the Marian party in Spain.

After these atrocities, the form and mockery of law was adopted. If the compulsive will of a ruthless and savage soldier can be called an election, Marius was elected consul for the seventh time,—an honour which no Roman before him had ever attained; but he died a few days after, in his seventieth year, B.C., 86. Marius was a soldier of fortune, with a mind rude and illiterate; he despised the accomplishments of civilized life.* In the camp, he was cold, cautious, and circumspect; while he affected to take no measure without consulting auguries and divinations, he in reality was closely watching only the circumstances and chances of war. By hating the aristocracy, he placed himself at the head of the plebeians, not out of any sympathy for their condition, but merely that he might rise to power. A stranger to any generous emotions, he was cruel, crafty, and ferocious.—Marius was one of the many whose abilities were equal to the times in which he lived; but by false ambition he ruined his country and outraged humanity.

Cinna was now leader of the Marian party, who, to guard against the return of Sulla, sent an army into Asia Minor, under the command of C. F. Fimbria, an officer of considerable military talent; but his soldiers, having been tampered with by Sulla, deserted him, when the unfortunate Fimbria put a period to his existence in despair.

Sulla had an army of 30,000 men at his disposal, and having concluded the war with Mithridates, resolved to invade Italy, and punish his enemies at Rome. Cinna made active preparations to meet this rival for dominion. At Ariminum he recruited his forces with great energy; but having punished too severely one of his soldiers, a mutiny among whom was the consequence, when he was murdered by his own soldiers, B.C., 83.

Cinna was succeeded in command by a son of Marius, together with Carbo and Norbanus, none of whom

* ——— Neque literas Græcas didici: parum placebat eas discere.—Sallust. Jugur., 85.

were calculated to contend with Sulla. The only general of their party possessed of real military talent, was Sertorius; but he withdrew into Spain, as if tired of such warfare. Sulla arrived in Campania, where he received immediate co-operation from Lucullus and Gnaeus Pompey. Their armies proceeded to attack Marius the younger, who, assisted by a considerable body of Samnites, was carrying on the war in Latium. Young Marius being defeated, fled to Præneste, where, being besieged by Sulla, he killed himself in despair. Sulla, learning that a Samnite army was in the immediate vicinity of Rome, quickly marched thither and gave it battle, before the Colline gate. The Samnites were totally defeated; eight thousand of whom were massacred in the circus, by orders of the conqueror, B.C., 82. Their hideous cries told the trembling Marians what they were to expect. Sulla having by wholesale glutted his inhuman vengeance upon the unhappy citizens without mercy, lists of proscription by his orders were drawn out, and too fatally obeyed. To him belongs the unenviable notoriety of being the inventor of the proscription list,* in which were written the names of the friends and adherents of the Marian party: those lists were hung up in the most public places of the city, and contained a promised reward for the head of the party doomed to destruction.

This proscription was not confined to Rome, but carried with ferocious effect into all the towns of Italy; besides the suspicion of being a Marian, it was fatal to be possessed of any property whatever, and the soldiers of Sulla robbed and murdered without control or mercy. From this proscription, Julius Cæsar, then but seventeen years of age, narrowly escaped. Old Marius had married his aunt, and he himself had married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna. Thus was Cæsar doubly united to the Marian cause; and Sulla, fearing the influence Cornelia might have had on

* *Primus ille, et utinam ultimus exemplum proscriptionis invenit.*—Vell. Pat.

the mind of her husband, as to what party he would espouse, made several efforts to induce young Cæsar to repudiate his wife; failing in this design, he deprived him of the priesthood of Jupiter (Flamen Dialis), and took from him his wife's fortune.

Cæsar, finding that Sulla was resolved on his destruction, retired into the country; for some time he wandered about among the Sabines, but his retreat was discovered by the soldiers of his enemy, when he purchased his life by the large bribe of two talents, which he gave the officer who commanded those miscreants. Nor was he even then quite safe. With much reluctance Sulla yielded to the intercession of the vestal virgins, and other influential persons who interested themselves for his protection; assuring them, that he, for whose safety they were so solicitous, would one day be the ruin of that aristocracy he was at so much pains to restore; as he saw many Marius' in this one Cæsar.* However, it is to be recollected, that if this account be correct, of course Cæsar must have been married before the period under review, and which would leave him, at the time of his marriage, about fifteen or sixteen at most; besides, it is not very likely that a lad of fifteen years of age could have power or scope sufficient to have awakened the fears of such a man as Sulla.

A little after the terror of those awful times had subsided, Sulla had himself appointed dictator for settling the affairs of the commonwealth, an office which had not been in existence for the last 120 years. The decree by which he was invested with this high office, gave him absolute command; indemnified him for whatever he had done, or should do; and empowered him to put any citizen to death without hearing or trial.† An awful authority, but which it must be admitted he did not much abuse.

The Gracchi, in their desire to correct the venality of the patricians, had given to the equestrian order a concurrent authority with the patricians, in the judgment of all causes; but the former order having been found as

* — Nam Cæsari multos Marios inesse. Sueton. J. Cæs.

† De Leg. Agrar. con Rull.

corrupt as the patricians, the dictator, in his attachment to aristocracy, restored to the latter the exclusive right of sitting in judgment on all causes. Knowing that the gross abuse of liberty by the tribunes was the great cause of the dreadful state of the times, he made the mere act of serving the tribunate a disqualification for any other office—consequently, no tribune could aspire to the consulate; he restrained the right of appeal to the tribunes, and deprived them of their chief privilege—that of proposing laws to the people—and left them nothing but their mere veto on the passing of any law.* Upon which Cicero has justly said, that “he left them the power to help, not to injure their country.”† Certainly, these reforms were solely of an aristocratic character, and accorded with the personal prejudices of the dictator. No matter from what obscure or hidden spring the stream flowed, the waters were salutary, and calculated much to heal the wounds of the bleeding country, had practical freedom, not faction, guided the destinies of Rome. But this very Sulla himself marred his own acts, which shows how doubtful was his sincerity, how factious his patriotism. For the same hand that checked the career of licentious liberty in the tribunes, at the same moment quartered no less than three and twenty of his legions through Italy, dispossessing the original inhabitants, even where those legions had encountered no resistance. By this means he knew he could rely upon their support, even during the prevalence of an adverse faction at Rome. He emancipated a body of ten thousand slaves belonging to the Cornelian house; those were distributed amongst the thirty-five tribes, and served as a body-guard to protect the person of the dictator.

Sulla did not long enjoy his blood-stained authority. He laid down the dictatorship in the year, B.C. 79, and retired to Baiæ, where he soon after died in the

* The tribunician power, and the privilege of judicature by the equestrian order, were, a few years afterwards, restored: the first by Pompey, when consul; the latter, by L. Cotta, when prætor.

† De Legib., 3. 10.

sixtieth year of his age. His body was burnt with great funeral pomp and solemnity. But the applause of party and the adulation of faction have long since died away, while the massacre of nearly one hundred and seventy thousand Romans must ever couple the name of Sulla with every epithet of abhorrence. He was the first of his family whose body was consumed on the funeral pyre, an act which he ordered, not from vanity, but fear. Having himself brutally exhumed the remains of Marius, and cast them into the Anio, to guard against a similar and retributive indignity, he commanded that his own corpse should be burnt.

Q. Catulus and M. Lepidus were now consuls, but the politics of both were diametrically opposed to each other. The father of Catulus, a man of eminent talent, had suffered under the Marian faction; his son inherited his talent and principles. Lepidus, on the contrary, espoused the cause of the depressed Marians, and proposed the recall of those banished by Sulla. The cause of Marius was always favourably looked upon by the great body of the people, and Lepidus became popular as the friend of that party. Catulus so successfully opposed the plans of his colleague, that the latter withdrew to his province of Cisalpine Gaul, where he employed himself in raising an army, by which he hoped to restore his party to power, and punish his enemies. The senate, alarmed at the extent of these preparations for war, wisely withdrew his commission as consul. This act gave Lepidus an excuse for greater violence: putting himself at the head of his army, and in imitation of Marius and Sulla, he marched directly towards Rome, to demand a second consulship, for his year of office had now expired. Q. Catulus and Cneius Pompey, then a young man, not long returned from Africa, was commanded by the senate to protect the government. These two, uniting their respective forces, encountered Lepidus at the Milvian bridge, about a mile from Rome, where he was totally defeated. Lepidus fled to Sardinia, and there, shortly afterwards, died of a broken heart. Still the province of Cisalpine Gaul was greatly attached to his person

and his cause, and where his lieutenant, M. Brutus, still held command. Thither Pompey proceeded. After some ineffectual struggles, the latter surrendered to Pompey, on condition that his life would be spared ; but Pompey, with the basest treachery, conveyed him under an escort of cavalry, to a short distance on the Po, and there had him murdered. M. Brutus was the father of that Brutus who conspired against Cæsar. His death closed the civil war of Lepidus.

Q. SERTORIUS.

Cn. Pompey was soon after engaged in a war with Quintus Sertorius, who had long served under Marius. Sertorius having passed over into Spain, rallied the remnant of the Marian party in that country. Sertorius was distinguished by brilliant talents and refined literary tastes. His generous treatment of the Spaniards soon conciliated in a wonderful degree the affections of that people, who flocked to his standard, and reposed such confidence in his honour, that the Spanish chiefs freely placed their children in a school founded under his patronage, where they received an excellent education. The object of Sertorius was to erect Spain into a new Roman commonwealth, and hundreds of his proscribed countrymen co-operated with him in this design. The Spaniards regarded him as a being of celestial origin ; their respect was still further increased by his being always attended in his walks by a white fawn, which was looked upon with reverence by the people as a familiar spirit.

For eight years the most strenuous efforts were made by Pompey and Metellus to subdue Sertorius, still their armies were routed ; and this great man would have probably succeeded in his bold design, but for the treachery of his legate, Perperna, who, hoping to gain the command of the entire army, had him assassinated at a banquet. The traitor received the just reward of his treachery : his army was annihilated. In order to save himself, he offered to Pompey all the correspondence and papers of Sertorius, among which were many

private letters of some of the first men in Rome, requesting Sertorius to lead his army thither and overturn the government. But Pompey nobly burned the papers without reading them, and, refusing the miscreant an audience, ordered his immediate execution. It is a pleasing duty to record such occasional acts of wisdom and generosity in Pompey, for, generally speaking, no man was more vain, worthless, and pretentious.

The last remnant of the Marian conflict broke out a short time later, under a gladiator named Spartacus, who induced a number of daring spirits of his own profession to escape from Capua, and take the field against the Romans. Their little band was speedily swelled by thousands of revolted slaves, who devastated Campania, in the neighbourhood of Mount Vesuvius, where they were joined by a large number of Gauls. Spartacus defeated two consular armies; being compelled by his ferocious followers to march on Rome, he was defeated by Marcus Licinius Crassus, at Petalia, the capital of Lucania. The insurgents fought with desperate courage, but were completely exterminated, and their leader perished on the field of battle. The consequences of this brief but sanguinary campaign were most disastrous;—many flourishing cities were destroyed by Spartacus and his adherents, or by the Romans for real or fancied connexion with the rebels. This ended the servile war. Quiet was now in some degree restored, yet it was no more than the lull before a storm, which speedily appeared in the conspiracy of Catiline, and the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Third Mithridatic War.—Cicero.—Verres.—Catiline.

In the year, B.C., 75, by the iniquitous exactions of the Roman tax-collectors, and from other causes, several cities of Asia Minor renounced their allegiance to Rome, and attached themselves to Mithridates, as the only person likely to sustain them in the assertion of their independence. To quell this insurrection, the Roman senate sent the consuls L. Lucullus and M. Cotta, each at the head of a considerable army. The latter, unwilling to await the arrival of his colleague, who had delayed in Cilicia and Cappadocia correcting some public abuses, anticipated nothing but triumph, and pressed forward for the fame of an unassisted victory.

Mithridates and Cotta met at Chalcedon, a city of Bithynia, near the mouth of the Bosphorous. The result was neither long nor doubtful. The consul was defeated both by sea and land, with the serious loss of 4,000 veteran troops and sixty ships of war, while he himself was obliged to seek refuge in the castle of Chalcedon. Lucullus heard with deep concern the disastrous affairs of his fellow-consul, and, unmoved by the jealous feeling of his colleague, nobly replied to those who advised him to leave the selfish Cotta to his fate—"No; I will press on to his assistance. I shall always feel it nobler to save the life of a Roman citizen, than to possess myself of the dominions of an enemy."

Lucullus so successfully conducted this war, that he defeated Mithridates in several battles both by land and sea. In one signal engagement, on the banks of the Granicus, the latter lost 20,000 men. However, in a short time the energetic Mithridates found himself again at the head of a formidable army. This Lucullus having opposed, was beaten in the two first encounters; but was so successful in a third action, that the forces of the Asiatic king were thoroughly routed, and he himself obliged to fly without even a

horse or a servant, mixing as one of the flying and affrighted multitude, unknown and unnoticed. At last a slave, recognising his monarch in a condition so deplorable, dismounted from his horse, placed Mithridates upon it, and thus enabled the unfortunate king to effect his escape, at the moment he was worn out with fatigue, and about to be taken captive by his pursuers. He continued his flight until he had entered Armenia, the kingdom of his son-in-law, Tigranes; but the rights of hospitality or the claims of kindred, even there, were scarcely granted or recognised. Mithridates came a houseless suppliant, and Tigranes, either from political expediency or some less worthy feeling, merely tolerated him in his palace for twelve months, without deigning even to grant him an audience. At length he espoused his interests, and after various conflicts they were both defeated by the valour and prudence of Lucullus; but who, by the intrigues of faction at home, or the censure of those who were incapable of judging his actions, when he had nearly completed the final overthrow of Mithridates, was superseded in command, and Pompey, a man of doubtful politics and measureless ambition, was despatched to finish the Asiatic war, and thus gathered those laurels his predecessor had sown. Lucullus returned to Rome, disgusted with the intrigues and ingratitude he received as a reward of his public services. With the aid of a splendid fortune and a noble library, his house and table were open to the learned of all countries, and to whom he was a generous benefactor. It was he who first introduced into Europe the culture of the cherry, which was called first *Cerasus*, from a place of that name in Cappadocia, where it is supposed this fruit first flourished.

The Asiatic king found it necessary to retire from the advances of his more successful enemy.—Pompey, keeping close upon his retreat, came up with him on the banks of the Euphrates, where the two armies encountered each other at midnight, by the light of the moon. The Asiatic forces were soon routed in dismay, and their king, at the head of eight hundred horsemen, cut their way, sword in hand, through the ranks

of the Romans : this little band having thus escaped the reach of the enemy, each man sought his own personal safety, leaving the unfortunate Mithridates alone, with the exception of three faithful followers, to wander whither he pleased. In these straitened circumstances he again turned his hopes towards his son-in-law, Tigranes, and sent some of his friends to solicit his assistance. The latter, fearing the anger of Pompey, not only treated those messengers with contempt, but actually set a price upon the head of the fugitive king, and who was ultimately compelled to seek shelter in the inhospitable regions of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (Crimea), where he had increased his army to a very considerable extent. Even in this retreat his daring spirit led him to conceive the bold design of marching his army of Scythians and other barbarians upon Rome itself, and turn the tide of war upon the homes and hearths of his pursuers. His indomitable perseverance nourished with fervour the idea of this vast undertaking, and he had already put himself in correspondence with several of the states of Gaul, that chafed impatiently under the yoke of Rome. A march of nearly two thousand miles, through many different nations and hostile tribes, across the lofty Alps, thence into a country where Hannibal himself had failed, were circumstances that soon caused the dazzling meteor of conquest to pale before the cooler consideration of an army tired of warfare, and exhausted by defeat. Indeed so adverse were they to this contemplated invasion of Italy, or even its attempt, that, in the spirit of legionary licence, they cashiered Mithridates and elected his son, Pharnaces, as their chief. The plot was encouraged by this unnatural son, who would not allow his aged father to fly whither he desired. Conduct so suspicious justly alarmed the old man, who, fearing the treachery of his son, retired to his own apartment, where, in the exercise of Asiatic despotism, having administered poison to his wives, daughters, and concubines, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy, he took the fatal draught himself ; but, in his impatience for death, deeming the potion not sufficiently active, he fell by

his own dagger, in the seventy-second year of his age and sixtieth of his reign.

M. T. CICERO.

We must now turn from the stirring tragedy of Asia, to the contemplation of the internal state of Rome and Italy. Nor can we better understand those times than by taking what may be called a personal view of some of the chief actors in that great drama.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born, B.C., 106, at Arpinum, a Samnite city, which, after acknowledging the supremacy of Rome, received its freedom, and was admitted into the Cornelian tribe. Young Cicero showed early signs of those brilliant talents that enabled him to play so conspicuous a part in the last scenes of the Roman commonwealth. His family was ancient and respectable: his father was a Roman knight; his mother, Helvia, brought her husband a large fortune, and, like her husband, was also connected with the equestrian order. Some assert, in the rage of party, that he was but the descendant of humble tradesmen; while others declare that he traced his lineage from the legendary monarchs of the Sabine race. Cicero, neither in his speeches nor letters, claims royalty for his ancestors, and merely informs us that they were satisfied with their paternal fortunes in their native province, without seeking the dangerous honours which Rome alone could confer.

The family mansion at Arpinum was delightfully circumstanced for repose and study. The father of Cicero, seeing the transcendent genius of his son, removed him at a very early age to Rome, where neither labour nor money were spared on his education. His constitution was naturally delicate, and his mind of that meditative character which shrinks from the turmoil of civil war. The distracted state of the times denied him that repose and retirement in which he could have indulged his philosophic investigations, but which would have, perhaps, deprived him of half his fame. In common with other young men of note, he served as a volunteer under Sulla in the Marsic war. At the

age of twenty-six, after a most extensive probation, he joined the Roman bar, where he eminently distinguished himself; and in the year following undertook the celebrated cause of S. Roscius, of Ameria; the circumstances of which case were:—

The father of Roscius was killed in the late proscription of Sulla. His estate, valued at about £60,000, was confiscated, and sold for a mere trifle to one Chrysogonus, a favourite slave of Sulla, to whom he had given his freedom. Chrysogonus, the better to secure himself in his claim to this estate, charged Roscius with the murder of his own father; so that the latter was not only plundered of his hereditary fortune, but was also now in danger of losing his life, and that for the most odious of crimes. The defence of the unfortunate Roscius, all the leaders of the bar invariably declined to undertake, knowing that it involved the perilous task of impeaching the minion of a tyrant. Cicero, however, embraced the cause with alacrity, and finally triumphed in the acquittal of his client, a result which stamped him as an orator of the highest order, and placed him among the first men of Rome. The contests between Sulla and Marius, now becoming so alarming that all the arts of peace were laid aside, and men thought of nothing but carnage and faction, Cicero, perhaps doubtful of his own security, or to relieve his spirit, wounded at the distractions of his country, left Rome for foreign travel, and visited Greece, where he remained until quiet had been partially restored.

In this sojourn amid the ruins of a great nation, his early predilection for oratorical renown became more ardent, although the eloquence which he there witnessed was but the expiring glow of Grecian genius. The spirit of liberty that had inspired the orators of Hellas was now no more. Sophists and rhetoricians had taken its place, and those models of intellectual greatness which their ancestors had left them, were all that could at present distinguish them from the subjugated serfs of Roman sway. Still, the better to improve himself in Greek, he frequently declaimed in that language

in the schools of Athens, where he met his celebrated friend Atticus.* There he also studied the philosophy of Greece, which, at a subsequent period, he transfused into the literature of his own country.

After an absence of two years, Cicero returned to Rome, when he was appointed *questor* of Sicily, or annual receiver-general of the public treasury; on the expiration of whose year of office, each *questor* became a member of the senate for life. In his thirty-seventh year, while *ædile*, he undertook the famous cause against C. Verres, late *prætor* of Sicily.

The soldiers of Sulla and Marius had been quartered throughout the rural localities, from whence the inhabitants were expelled, to make way for those furious instruments too often of vengeance and ambition. They were, in general, restless, uncivilized men; clamorous to obtain the thriving farms they observed on their march, but, from their pursuits, incompetent to cultivate them to the benefit of themselves or the community. In no country did property so extensively and with such rapidity change owners as in ancient Italy, where the insecurity of possession was one of the chief causes of the frequent famines that visited that country, and drove many of the well-disposed inhabitants to embrace a lawless life. The provinces were in a still more wretched condition, by the incessant oppression and plunder of the people, or by the tyranny of their local governors.

C. VERRES.

C. Verres had been for three years *prætor* of Sicily, where his various acts of cruelty, injustice, and public robbery were so deeply felt and indignantly remembered, that every city in that island, except Syracuse and Messana, sent a deputation to Cicero, imploring him to undertake, by a public prosecution, the cause of the oppressed province, and bring the criminal, Verres,

* This was a school-fellow of Cicero; his name was T. Pomponius. From his great attachment to Athens, he received the surname of Atticus.—*De Fin.*, 2, 2.

to justice. Cicero accepted the management of the cause. Verres was supported by all the great aristocracy of Rome, while the celebrated Q. Hortensius, one of the most accomplished leaders of the Roman bar, was his advocate. These were fearful odds; but Cicero, sustained by conscious talent and a just cause, went on with his usual energy.

He divided his impeachment of this great public criminal under four distinct clauses: I. The corruption of Verres in deciding causes during his prætorship. II. His extortion in collecting the public revenue of Sicily. III. His robbing several Sicilian nobles of their gold and silver plate. IV. His illegal and tyrannous punishments of those unhappy persons who complained of his injustice. Under these charges Verres was proved to be a most abandoned miscreant, destitute alike of honesty or humanity, alive to no other feelings but those of robbery, cruelty, and lust. Yet such was the influence of this man with the corrupt patricians; so extensively were similar atrocities patronised by themselves; that, although his crimes were undeniable, and his counsel unable to defend him, Cicero failed to procure his conviction. However, even Verres had more decency than his judges: seeing that the case of the prosecution was unanswerable, and public opinion so strong against him, he retired into voluntary exile:—a melancholy proof of the state of the law in those times; when a great public criminal could thus withdraw from the consequences of his crimes, and evade the course of justice. The fate of Verres is not without instruction.—He lived many years in exile, abandoned and forgotten by his patrician friends, and where, it is said, he was indebted to the humanity of Cicero for relief.* Those very statues and Corinthian vessels, part of his plunder in Sicily, which he carried with him into exile, were not only the cause of his dishonour and fall in Rome; but were even the immediate source of his melancholy end: Verres having refused to part with them to M. Antony, the latter entered the wretched

* Seneca, l. 6.

exile in his proscription, when he perished beneath the daggers of that triumvir.

CATILINE.

Cicero was now in the full enjoyment of his well-earned fame and honourable distinction; but never were his energies so severely tried, nor did his virtues shine with purer lustre, than in his suppression of the great conspiracy of Catiline, B.C., 65.

Lucius Sergius Catilina was a Roman noble of patrician rank. A profligate and extravagant life had steeped him in pecuniary embarrassments. He was anxious to obtain the government of some province, where he hoped, by plunder, to satisfy his creditors;—for this purpose he made more than one effort to gain the consulate, but his tainted reputation interposed a barrier which his rank and undoubted talents were unable to surmount. During the proscription of Sulla, he was one of the most ferocious of that party, and had butchered with his own hands several citizens who were attached to Marius. Subsequently, he was prætor of Africa; for his oppressions in that country he was brought to trial, but contrived to bribe his prosecutors so largely, that the trial fell to the ground. When he sued for the consulship a second time, his bribery was so open and undisguised, that Cicero brought in a bill to restrain those practices. Catiline, enraged at this result, formed the design of killing Cicero and several other members of the senate; but frustrated in this also, and driven by rage and disappointment, he conceived the nefarious design of throwing the country into a state of general insurrection, massacring the senate, and seizing the public treasury.

Unfortunately the times appeared propitious to this man. The drags of the civil wars supplied him with many instruments for the execution of his project. The soldiers of Sulla—about 100,000 men—had been quartered in various parts of Italy by that tyrant, upon the poor inhabitants, whom they had deprived of their farms; but they had now wasted in idleness and luxury

those means which they had obtained by violence, and sighed for similar scenes of rapine and crime:—these were the devoted adherents of Catiline, as he had always espoused that party. A general discontent prevailed, not only in Rome, but in Italy, the natural result of the late intestine wars. Among these malcontents Catiline sent his emissaries, who censured the present state of public affairs, while they promised rewards and honours to those who joined them. One Manlius, a bold and enterprising centurion, who had taken a part in the proscriptions of Sulla, he sent into Etruria, where the latter, by his address, soon raised an army ready at a moment's notice at the call of Catiline; many Romans also of birth and station, but of broken fortunes, were easily prevailed on to take a part in this conspiracy. The names of about thirty-five of his co-conspirators have transpired, of whom the principal were P. Cornelius Lentulus, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, Servius, and P. Sylla, and P. Autronius, with five others, all of the senatorial order.

Lentulus was of an ancient family: his grandfather was prince of the senate, but from which he himself was expelled for the gross infamy of his life. Cethegus was also highly connected: he was originally attached to the party of Marius, with whom he was driven out of Rome by Sulla; after some time he solicited and obtained his pardon at the feet of the latter, to whom he made great promises. He was violent, fierce, and licentious; having lost his character, credit, and reputation, he embraced the desperate policy of Catiline. P. Autronius had been made consul, but his election was declared void, on the ground of gross perjury. Cassius was a disappointed candidate for the consulship. The two Sullas were nephews of the late dictator.—All were men of tainted character.

The conspirators held various consultations at the house of Catiline as to their policy and plan of operations. They resolved that all Italy should be divided into several districts, each of which should be intrusted to the management of a member of the conspiracy; that a general insurrection should be carried on by the

several leaders throughout the Italian peninsula; that Catiline should take the command of the army in Etruria and march directly on Rome; that Cassius should have the charge of setting Rome on fire in several places and at once; that at the same time a general massacre of the senate, and all who opposed the conspirators, should be perpetrated—none to be spared, save the two sons of Pompey, who were to be kept as hostages to secure the aid of their father—this bloody office was to be performed by Cethegus; Lentulus was to be the president or chairman of the provisional government.

The first object of Catiline was to obtain his own election to the consulate, in which capacity he hoped to have unlimited authority over the garrison of Rome. In this he was frustrated by Cicero, who had already obtained some obscure information relative to the plot, but not sufficient to warrant the apprehension of any of the parties implicated. Cicero became himself a candidate for the consulship, together with Caius Antonius, a secret partisan of Catiline; and the popular voice ratified the election of the orator; Antonius was likewise elected. Catiline, frustrated in this most important part of his design, now deliberated with his confederates as to the means of assassinating Cicero.

It was the custom at Rome, for persons of civil or ecclesiastical rank to receive a numerous levee of visitors every morning, consisting of friends and clients, who took this opportunity of testifying their respect for their patron, or soliciting favours for themselves; The conspirators accordingly resolved that two of their number—Q. Cornelius and L. Vargentius—should proceed early in the morning to the house of Cicero, and assassinate him in his bedchamber, to which their rank and position they considered would ensure them admittance. This design was communicated by Cassius, one of the conspirators, to a female acquaintance of his named Fulvia, who sent prompt information to the consul relative to their design. Cicero ordered his servants to refuse admission to Cornelius and Vargentius; when Catiline, finding that the vigilance of

the government was aroused, made every effort to hasten the revolt.

Cicero in the mean time prepared for vigorous measures, deeming it inexpedient any longer to conceal his knowledge of the conspiracy. On the first opportunity, when Catiline was present in the senate, he taxed him with his atrocious design, and openly branded him as a felon and a traitor. Catiline at first endeavoured to repel the charge by blackening the character of Cicero, and denouncing him as an insolent adventurer; but finding himself received with universal hatred and aversion, he rushed furiously from the senate, exclaiming in a voice of thunder, "that he would light up a conflagration which would be extinguished only by the blood of the noblest citizens of Rome." Leaving the city immediately, he proceeded to the camp of Manlius, who had collected a formidable army of Etruscan insurgents in the neighbourhood of Fesulæ; while the direction of the conspiracy in the city was intrusted to Lentulus, Cethegus, and the others, who were less obnoxious to suspicion than himself.

The senate, distracted with the fear of an impending outbreak in the city, hesitated to send troops against the insurgents in Etruria. But the imprudence of Lentulus and Cethegus, together with the vigilance of Cicero, saved them from this terrible dilemma. Ambassadors from the Allobroges, (now Savoy and Dauphiny,) were then in Rome, complaining bitterly of the exactions and oppressions of their Roman governors. As these were railing at the neglect of the senate, they were met by the emissaries of the conspirators, who induced them to take part in their design, and promised them many immunities in the event of their success. The ambassadors were at first charmed with the pleasing prospect of future independence; but considering these promises more maturely,—the chances of failure, and, in that event, the terrible consequences to themselves and country, resolved to make a full disclosure to the senate of the names of the conspirators. This they did at first through the medium of Q. Fabius Sanga, who communicated at once his important in-

telligence to Cicero. The latter immediately summoned the ambassadors before him, and by large promises induced them to continue their attendance at the meetings of the conspirators, until such time as the plot would be ripe for the arrest and punishment of the parties concerned.

Lentulus and his adherents, in the mean time, were actively engaged in hastening the progress of the conspiracy. In the provinces, the intemperate conduct of the Catilinarian party, their indiscriminate distribution of arms, and violent harangues to the rash and unreflecting populace, caused the arrest of several suspected persons; but as yet no coercive measures had been taken by the government.

THE ARREST AND DEATH OF LENTULUS, CETHEGUS, AND OTHERS.

The Allobroges were now preparing to quit the city, when it was resolved by Lentulus that they should visit, upon their route, the camp of Catiline, and confirm with him the treaty which they had already made with his adherents in the city. The ambassadors were to be attended on their journey by one of the conspirators, named Titus Volturcius, who was intrusted with letters to Catiline. This arrangement was also immediately communicated to Cicero, who arrested Volturcius and his companions upon the Milvian bridge. The ambassadors were set at liberty, and Volturcius, finding himself betrayed, disclosed to the senate the entire history of the conspiracy. Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other conspirators in Rome, were immediately seized and tried before the Roman senate. Cicero directed his brilliant eloquence to procure their capital condemnation, in which he was supported by M. P. Cato. The sole dissentient voice was that of C. J. Cæsar, then prætor elect, who was himself strongly suspected of participation in the design; but his very temperate and plausible address, in which he proposed to confiscate the property of the conspirators—confine them in some of the fortified towns in Italy—

and that none should presume to apply for any mitigation of their punishment, could not prevail against the just indignation of the senate, who at once drew up a decree for the immediate execution of such of the conspirators as were in custody. Cicero, fearing that those men might be rescued during the night, proceeded immediately from the senate, attended by a strong guard, took Lentulus from his temporary confinement, and lodged him in the common gaol, where he was strangled by the public executioners. The prætors took charge of Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Ceparius, all of whom that night suffered the same fate in the Mamertine prison. On the close of this sad but necessary scene, the entire body of the senate and knights attended Cicero home to his house;—the crowded streets were illuminated, and every tongue hailed him the deliverer of his country.

Catiline, learning the fate of his friends at Rome, assembled his forces, together with those of Manlius, in Etruria, and resolved to effect his escape into Gaul. This he, however, found impossible: the energetic wisdom of Cicero had the passes of the Alps already occupied by the forces of the republic. Catiline, finding himself thus hemmed in, was compelled to engage with the troops of the consul at Pistoria, in the north of Etruria.

The army of Catiline amounted to 12,000 men, only one-fourth of which was fully armed; it consisted of refugees from Rome and provincial mal-contented, ready for any cause that promised plunder and licentiousness.

Catiline exerted himself with great energy, both by word and example, to animate his troops with his own indomitable courage. Both parties now met, and the battle which ensued would have done honour to the most chivalrous days of ancient Rome. C. Antonius, the commander of the troops of the republic, was confined to his bed by gout; but, as rumour said, by a disrelish to encounter his former colleague and brother-conspirator. However, his legate, Petreius, was well qualified to supply his absence and cope with Catiline. The soldiers of the latter entered the conflict with

spirit and alacrity; but experienced a determined resistance from the conspirators, who, for a considerable time, rendered doubtful the issue of the fight. The Romans were, however, superior in numbers, and the Catilinarians were at last broken by a decisive charge of the prætorian cohort; Manlius fell amongst the rest, and the remnant of the insurgents died fighting desperately in their ranks. This bold, unprincipled man, finding that the day was lost, rushed into the thickest ranks of the enemy, where, after having for a time dealt destruction around him, he fell covered with wounds; his body was found amid a heap of Roman dead. This battle totally suppressed the conspiracy; public rejoicings were made in Rome; and Cicero was saluted by the senate as the Father of his Country—the highest honour a nation can bestow, or public virtue receive.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Pompey returns to Italy.—The First Triumvirate.—Cicero flies from Rome—is recalled—his dream.—Death of Clodius.—Milo banished.

About three years after the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy, when all Rome seemed to unite in loading Cicero with honour and adulation, Cneius Pompeius landed at Brundisium, after a prosperous campaign in Syria and Judea, whither he had been invited by the domestic quarrels of the brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, rival aspirants to the Jewish throne. Hyrcanus, having been expelled by the party of his brother, put himself under the protection of the Romans, and Jerusalem, then garrisoned by the troops of Aristobulus, was taken after a siege of three months. Pompey does not appear to have acted with severity to the conquered city; yet he deeply wounded the religious feelings of the Jews, by entering the sacred recesses of their temple, to which their high priest was permitted access only once

within the year; but the Divine presence had long ceased to sanctify a spot polluted by cruelty and hypocrisy. The result of this interposition was: the Jews were left the full exercise of their religious worship; Hyrcanus was elected high priest; and Judea became a Roman province.

It was after this expedition that Pompey returned to Italy, with the intention, from thenceforward, of devoting himself to the domestic politics of Rome, in which he hoped to find the realization of his ambitious projects. His first act, upon his arrival at Brundisium, was to disband his army—an ostentatious tribute to the supremacy of that republic which he was afterwards so mainly instrumental in destroying.

On his arrival at Rome, in the early part of the year, B.C., 61, he celebrated a most splendid triumph, and received the name of Magnus (the Great), which he had long coveted, but never afterwards seems to have sustained. He divided an immense quantity of treasure amongst his troops: every soldier who had served under his standards, during the protracted campaigns of the East, received the sum of £45 sterling. During his residence in Asia, Pompey conducted the affairs of that country completely at his own discretion. He had carried his victorious arms as far as the banks of the Tigris, founded twenty-nine new colonies, and distributed the various regions which he had subdued among those princes who had assisted the cause of Rome during the Mithridatic wars. His principal anxiety was now to get these arrangements ratified by the Roman senate, and thus demonstrate to his foreign allies, that he had made no promises which he was unable to perform. In this, however, he encountered great and unexpected difficulties. His strong inclination to despotic measures, and his complete influence over the troops, were looked upon with a suspicious eye by Cicero and the senatorial party, whose jealousy was, perhaps, excited by his ostentatious triumph, and by an inscription caused to be placed in a temple dedicated to Minerva, and built out of the spoils of Mithridates. That

inscription informs us, that he had killed, or taken prisoners, 2,183,000 men, sunk 846 ships, and reduced 1,583 towns and fortresses.

The consuls for that year were Quintus Cœcilius, Metellus, and L. Afranius. The first of these was a nobleman of ancient family, who had commanded an army during the Catilinarian war, and had prevented the insurgents from effecting their escape into Gaul. Metellus was certainly unfavourable to the designs of Pompey; but the latter found in Afranius a supporter, who was ready to assist him in all his projects. A tribune named Flavius was employed by Pompey to propose a measure, ratifying all his policy in foreign affairs, besides introducing an important agrarian law for the distribution of land amongst his soldiers. This proposal was violently opposed by Metellus, Lucullus, and Cato, together with the great majority of the senate, who justly censured the policy of sanctioning, without long and careful consideration, acts involving so many various interests, and where their present means of information were limited and uncertain. The factious Flavius, enraged at their obstinacy, and relying upon the support of Pompey, had the insolence to imprison the consul Metellus, whom he refused to restore to liberty, although the whole body of the senate protested against this gross violation of their privileges, and declared themselves willing to share in the confinement of the consul. Pompey, alarmed at the frontless audacity of his adherent, privately advised him to release the consul, and Metellus was immediately enlarged.

The conduct of Pompey, in thus attempting to force the opinions of the legislature, completely compromised him with the patricians; and perceiving that his influence amongst that order was at an end, he espoused the cause of the plebeian party—a step which he must have afterwards bitterly regretted, as it was, perhaps, the commencement of his downfall.

At this period the attention of the Roman people was beginning to be attracted to a military leader,

then in the prime of life, who had already acquired distinction in the subjugation of Spain.

Caius Julius Cæsar, whose name has been already mentioned in the narrative of Catiline's conspiracy, was born in the year, B.C., 100, of a respectable family in Rome. His father's sister was married to C. Marius, with whose party the future dictator of Rome became identified, and was recognised as its leader after the assassination of Sertorius. In early life Cæsar suffered much from the persecution of Sulla, as has been already stated. The death of that tyrant relieved him from all further apprehensions. Still his troubles did not cause him to neglect the elegant pursuits of literature; and the young patrician, during the fury of the civil wars, enjoyed a literary retreat at Rhodes, with the instructions of the best masters of his day. His energy and talents were soon appreciated by his countrymen, and Cæsar received successively the offices of high priest, prætor, and afterwards governor of Spain. In this last capacity he served the commonwealth with great ability and success, until, B.C., 60, when he returned to Rome, and was elected to the consulship, together with M. C. Bibulus. The provinces assigned to him by the senate not proving to his satisfaction, and perceiving the weak and disorganized condition of the republic, J. Cæsar turned his active mind to the formation of an alliance with Pompey and Marcus Licinius Crassus, whose inordinate avarice was but poorly satisfied in the government which he administered at the period. Crassus and Pompey had been for a long time on bad terms, but the able policy of Cæsar soon effected a coalition, which has been called the first Triumvirate, and from which period, B.C., 60, the senate ceased to govern the Roman state.

The triumvirs were extremely eager to secure for themselves the interest and co-operation of Cicero, but that generous and disinterested patriot refused to lend himself to a scheme which he foresaw would end in the annihilation of his country's liberty.

The first policy of Cæsar was to strengthen his alliance with Pompey, by bestowing on him the hand of

his daughter Julia. This union never seems to have attained its desired end. From that period Cæsar and Pompey viewed each other with a degree of jealousy, which might well be considered as a prelude to the many disastrous transactions which arose between them. Cæsar and Bibulus still continued nominally to act as consuls, but the authority of the latter was a mere shadow, still, however he may have disliked his position, he was unable to neutralize the ambitious projects of his colleague.

At this period Rome was kept in continued turmoil, by the factious intrigues of Publius Clodius, a profligate nobleman, descended from the ancient house of Claudius, and married to a sister of Lucullus, in whose expeditions he had served with very little credit. His scandalous vices made him notorious at Rome; but his audacity, and a certain energy for mischief, enabled him to set the laws at defiance, and even to gain the assistance of a formidable faction. By these means he became an intolerable nuisance to the better-disposed citizens, who were constantly insulted and maltreated by his myrmidons. Such was the relaxed state of the laws and public morals, that whoever dared to oppose the licentious career of Clodius was almost certain to have his house assailed, and burned by an armed mob. Nor could the terrified senate be expected to render any assistance, for which they might afterwards pay the penalty of their lives.

In the year previous, Clodius had committed an act, which, to an ordinary man, would seem to have completed the measure of his crimes. The wife of J. Cæsar, with many other Roman ladies, were celebrating the mysteries of the Bona Dea, a solemnity held in the greatest veneration, and to which no man was permitted access; but Clodius, regardless of all decency, and for some criminal intent, dressed in female attire, contrived to secrete himself in the house of J. Cæsar, where those mysteries were then celebrating. The intruder was soon detected, to the horror of the inmates. In the scene of confusion which ensued, the profligate effected his escape, but his sacrilege was soon reported

through the city, and raised a general feeling of indignation. Cæsar was at that time high priest, and this insult on his sacred character was universally resented. After various delays and intrigues, Clodius was brought to trial, when he endeavoured to procure the services of Cicero as his advocate: the latter indignantly refused to prostitute his talents in the cause of such a character, and even gave strong testimony against him in a subsequent inquiry on this case. The intrigues of Clodius, and the corrupt state of the public morals, preserved him from the consequences of his crime; having expended large sums of money in purchasing the silence or sanction of his judges, he was acquitted by the corrupt tribunal before whom he was arraigned for his profligacy. Cæsar seemed to have treated the matter with great indifference; nevertheless he divorced his wife, although he believed her innocent of any participation in the designs of Clodius, alleging as a reason—"That the wife of Cæsar should be beyond even the shadow of suspicion:" a reason which may be considered more pompous than sincere.

The violent opposition which Cicero made to the unexpected acquittal of Clodius, inspired the latter with feelings of bitter hatred against the orator. He now applied himself assiduously to obtain his own election as tribune, in which position he felt that he could inflict severe vengeance on Cicero and his other enemies, as well as screen himself from the consequences of future crimes. To effect this purpose, Clodius, knowing that none of the aristocracy could by law be made a tribune of the people, he resigned his patrician rank, and caused himself to be adopted into a plebeian family. His intrigues succeeded, and after a period of about two years he was elected tribune, by the connivance of both Cæsar and Pompey, in order to annoy Cicero, who always declined to sanction the proceedings of the triumvirate.

The law of adoption was very special among the Romans; the first condition of which was, that the adopter should be older than the adopted, and too old to have any children; that the adoption should not

cause any diminution of dignity to either family; that it should not be practised for the purpose of any fraud or deception, and that all these particulars should be first investigated by the College of Priests, and the entire proceedings subject to their approbation. But every one of these conditions was scorned by the licentious Clodius; the pretended adopter was a much younger man than Clodius himself, was married, and had children, and the College of Priests was never consulted; besides, Clodius was emancipated by his new father, and assumed his original rank on his election to the tribunate.

Entering into a nefarious compact with the consuls of the year (B.C., 58), Gabinius and Calpurnius Piso, Clodius distributed vast quantities of corn among the populace, and procured the enactment of a law decreeing the outlawry of any one who had illegally put to death a Roman citizen. Cicero, perceiving the dangerous tendency of this law to himself and his adherents, for his punishment of Cethegus and others of Catiline's party, made every possible effort to prevent the measure passing into a law, but without avail. Crassus personally disliked him, knowing that Cicero suspected him of having been connected with the conspiracy of Catiline; Cæsar, although not his avowed enemy, secretly feared his virtue, and was particularly vexed that he declined to be his lieutenant in Gaul, or accept office under his government.

FLIGHT OF CICERO.

Thus circumstanced, Cicero resolved to make a personal appeal for protection to Pompey, the remaining triumvir. The latter received him coldly; and when Cicero supplicated his assistance in the most humble manner against the machinations of Clodius, he positively refused all interference, selfishly saying, that he would do nothing against the will of Cæsar. Seeing this state of things, Cicero immediately called a council of his friends, to take their opinion whether he should stay in Rome; stand upon his own innocence, and oppose his enemies force by force; or withdraw in time,

until the storm was over, and prevent an effusion of blood. Lucullus recommended the first; Hortensius, Cato, and Atticus, the second course, which being seconded by the fears of his own family, Cicero privately left Rome that night, attended by a considerable number of friends, who acted as his body-guard, travelled with him for two days, then left him, with the tenderest sentiments of sorrow for his fall, and admiration for his virtue.

Clodius, finding that Cicero had left the city, proceeded the next day to the forum, where, by the intrigues and violence of his mercenaries, he was enabled to pass a decree denouncing Cicero as a public enemy, whom no person should presume to harbour or receive, on the peril of death; that any one who should dare to propose his recall should be likewise deemed a public enemy. Even the property of the noble exile was considered a legitimate subject for pillage. The marble columns of his mansion on the Palatine Hill were meanly appropriated by the consul Piso to his own private use; whilst his fellow-consul, Gabinius, plundered his Tusculan villa of all its rich and beautiful works of art. Nor did these atrocities stop here. Terentia, the wife of Cicero, justly fearing for her own personal safety amid these scenes of violence, had fled for sanctuary to one of the temples of the gods; but from whence she was forcibly dragged, and rudely brought before the tribunal of Clodius, where she was called on, with all the mock solemnity of law, to give an account of the property of her illustrious husband. In this, however, Clodius was foiled, by the firmness and courage of Terentia.*

The lawless tribune next endeavoured to obtain possession of the infant son of Cicero, then six years old, in order to murder it; however, the guardians of the unconscious child had him carefully removed beyond the reach of the miscreant, who, not satisfied with destroying the exile's mansion on the Palatine, with the bitterest malice, to prevent its re-erection, consecrated

* *Ep. Fam.*, 14, 2.

the area on which it had stood to the perpetual service of religion, and thereon built a temple to the goddess of Liberty !—Such were the notions of religion and liberty believed and practised by the tyrant.

CICERO REFUSED AN ASYLUM IN SICILY.

Cicero had always been the ardent friend and defender of the rights of the Sicilians, therefore directed his course to Sicily, hoping to pass his exile as tranquilly as he could in that island. When he came in sight of these wished-for shores, the prætor, C. Virgilius, its governor, fearing the vengeance of Clodius, sent a message to Cicero that he could not land there. This was the first sting of his exile ; one which was the more poignant, when he remembered that this C. Virgilius had been before indebted to his friendship. Thus circumstanced, he was forced to return to Italy, in order that he might take shipping for some more hospitable home. Yet even in this state of insult he felt some consolation. While his enemies were burning his houses and plundering his property in Rome, all the towns through which he had passed in this route, received him with the most ardent testimonies of their admiration and applause. He settled at Thessalonica, where Cn. Plancius was quæstor, who, regardless of the wrath of Clodius, received the persecuted wanderer with the most flattering attention, and made his condition as comfortable as circumstances would allow.

CICERO RECALLED.

This ungrateful return for the public services of Cicero was not destined to disgrace his countrymen for any lengthened period. Clodius, having carried with success all his intrigues and plots against Cicero, so long the greatest man in Rome, now became intoxicated with authority, and insulted, from time to time, C. J. Cæsar, Pompey, even Gabinus, the consul, by whose sanction and connivance he was able to carry out his malice against Cicero. At length the tide of popularity began to flow in favour of the latter, which Clodius was unable to impede or arrest.

In the autumn, B.C., 57, a decree of the senate was passed, after many interruptions, in the temple built by Marius, reversing the sentence of exile against Cicero, and inviting his immediate return. All classes received this announcement with shouts of acclamation, and passages from a tragedy then acted by the great *Æsopus*, which referred to the suffering of a distinguished exile, caused an outburst of enthusiasm that raised to the highest pitch the hopes of all lovers of constitutional liberty in Rome.

Cicero returned after an absence of about sixteen months, and was received with the most splendid demonstrations of attachment. Every town through which he passed received him with multitudinous joy, while their deputies and corporations, less ardent, but not less sincere, expressed their congratulation at his return by decreeing him statues and public honours. From Brundisium to Rome was a continuous line of men, women, and children, who, from temples, porticoes, and house-tops, hailed the restoration of the Father of his Country. As he approached the city, his reception was truly brilliant, or, as he has himself finely expressed it—"That day alone was worth an immortality, when I beheld the senate and the universal Roman people coming out to receive me—when Rome herself seemed to have burst from her foundations, and rushed to embrace her preserver."* All his honours were restored, and he received from the senate the sum of £22,000 to enable him to re-build his Palatine house, his Tusculan and Formian villas; however, this was greatly below their real value.

CICERO'S DREAM.

Cicero tells us,† that during his exile, he had a dream, which made a deep impression on his mind. He thought that as he was wandering disconsolate in some desert wilderness, the shade of C. Marius appeared to him, with his *fascēs* bound with laurel. The shade seeing him gloomy and sorrowful, bade him not to despair, and that

* In *Pison.*, 22.† *De Divin.*, 1, 28.

he would find protection in his *monument* in Rome. All persons to whom Cicero told this vision, promised him a speedy and honourable restoration to his country. The circumstance of his restoration being decreed in the temple of Marius,* sunk deeply into his mind, and he pronounced the vision as a divine favour from the gods; but he was not always of this opinion. His view of the doctrine of dreams is so sound and philosophical, that it is worthy of attention. Writing of this very dream, of which his family often spoke, he says, "that all dreams are but vain phantasies, weak and indistinct impressions which our waking thoughts leave upon the mind. That during his exile it was natural for him to think of some other man, who, like himself, was an outcast from his country—such was Marius,—so that his frequent thinking of the latter caused him to dream of him,—and that no old woman could be so mad as to give any credit to dreams, if, in the vast variety of them, they did not sometimes happen, accidentally, to fall out according to some confused vision."

The triumvirs, in the meantime, distributed among themselves the entire and absolute administration of the republic, and divided the great provinces of the empire in the following manner:—Cæsar was to have the government of Gaul; Pompey that of Spain; and Crassus that of Syria and the East; each for a period of five years. To this violent assumption of power, irrespective of all authority, the senate made but a feeble opposition. Marcus P. Cato, the younger, having ventured to inveigh against this violation of the constitution, Cæsar sent to prison, but, becoming ashamed of this act, released him immediately. Cæsar and Crassus having gained all that they desired, departed after some time to their respective provinces, in which they experienced very different fortunes.

* C. Marius built a temple in Rome from the spoils of the Marsic war: thence it was often called the *monument* of Marius.

MILO IMPEACHES CLODIUS.

P. Clodius, who, for six years, had led a career of the most unbridled audacity, was at length impeached by T. Annius Milo, the tribune, for his gross violation of the public peace. But such was the wretched state of the Roman law; that the faction of Clodius found means to prevent their leader from being brought to trial. Milo, seeing this state of things, and being a man of very daring spirit, resolved to deal with Clodius by opposing force to force. For this purpose he purchased a band of gladiators, who had several skirmishes with those of Clodius in the public streets of Rome. Some years later, Milo was canvassing for the consulate—Clodius for the prætorship. The latter did all he could to oppose the success of the former; lest he himself should be obliged to serve, in a subordinate position, under his enemy. All the friends of order and the constitution were in favour of Milo; but three of the tribunes, among whom was Sallust, the historian, were for Clodius. While affairs were thus circumstanced, Milo and Clodius, accompanied by their respective retainers, accidentally met each other on the Appian way, just outside the city. The retainers of both began to jeer at each other as they passed; Clodius, with his usual violence, threatened to punish the servants of his adversary, when he suddenly received a wound in the shoulder from one of the gladiators of Milo. Clodius fled for shelter into an adjacent tavern, but Milo, in his long-remembered revenge, stormed the house, from which Clodius was dragged out and murdered on the spot, with eleven of his retainers. Next day the friends of Clodius carried his naked body, covered with gore and dirt, into the forum; when the senseless populace, on seeing the body of the dead demagogue, hastily snatched it up, and bore it to the senate-house, where, tearing up seats and benches, they made a funereal pile, and burned the body, together with the house itself; in their infatuated fury they proceeded to storm the house of Milo and others. The city was in a state of dreadful confusion—Pompey was appointed consul without a colleague—the

senate called upon him to see that the state received no detriment, and that he should raise sufficient troops for its protection. Milo was shortly afterwards put upon his trial, who, in despite of the eloquence and ingenuity of his friend Cicero, was found guilty and banished to Marseilles.*

The ruling passion of Crassus was avarice;—this sordid feeling was his principal incentive in his choice of Syria as a province. Thither, in the year, B.C., 55, he passed through Judea, and added to the miseries of the unfortunate Jews by plundering their temple of its gorgeous gold and silver vessels, which even Pompey had spared when in that country.

Crassus remained during the ensuing winter in Syria, satiating his avarice with the rich booty which that terrified province was daily casting into his hands, while he was preparing for his Parthian expedition.

The warlike inhabitants of the latter country had, on many occasions, offered formidable resistance to the Roman arms; but the immense wealth, lying in the coffers of their princes, alone urged Crassus to this perilous undertaking. Orodes, king of Parthia, learning his intentions, sent ambassadors to the Roman camp, to dissuade Crassus from his project, but without avail. With similar insolence Crassus neglected the proffered succours of Artavasdes, king of Armenia, who offered to assist the Romans with a considerable body of troops; and advised them to make Armenia their line of march, in the direction of Parthia. Surena, the general of the Parthian army, a man of profound military talent, quickly perceived that the headstrong temper of the Roman general might be made serviceable to the cause of Orodes. An artful spy was sent by the Parthian general to the camp of Crassus, who described himself as a fugitive from the tyranny of his sovereign; the spy soon gained the implicit confidence of the infatuated Roman. By means of his representations, the

* Milo, after a banishment of four years, was recalled by the prætor, Cælius. These two endeavoured to corrupt the army in favour of Pompey; but the soldiers whom they sought to influence destroyed them.

Roman troops, which had now crossed the Euphrates, and entered Mesopotamia, were led away from the more fertile districts into vast sultry plains, where the deficiency of water and wholesome food soon proved most disastrous. In spite of the urgent remonstrances of his generals, who began to suspect the motives of the guide, Crassus continued his march, which became daily more embarrassing by the exhaustion of his soldiers.

This confusion was suddenly increased by the intelligence that the Parthian army was rapidly approaching. In a short time the two hosts encountered each other at the village of Carrhæ. The Parthians after the first onset seemed to retreat; but, turning suddenly, poured upon their adversaries a most destructive shower of arrows, which pierced through their closest armour, and strewed the ground with Roman dead. The son of Crassus, a gallant young officer, perished in an attempt to break through the masses of the Parthians with the Roman cavalry, and his unfortunate father, having first seen his entire army perish by the Parthian missiles, was obliged to surrender to Surena. That general treated him at first with courtesy, but Crassus was shortly after assassinated,—the manner of his death is unknown. His avarice caused him to be little regretted either by his colleagues or his countrymen. His head was brought in triumph to Orodes, who ordered it to be filled with melted gold, saying,—“Sate thyself with that metal of which thou wert so greedy.” Nearly 2,000 Roman soldiers perished in this campaign. A small portion of this army effected their escape into Syria, under the guidance of C. Cassius Longinus, afterwards so memorable for his conspiracy against J. Cæsar.

Thus ended the first Triumvirate.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Cæsar triumphs in Gaul.—Invades Britain.—Battle of Pharsalia.

Cæsar, having seen the flight of Cicero, of which he was an indirect cause, proceeded into Gaul, where the dissensions in the capital had inspired the inhabitants with courage to resist Roman domination. The Soane and the Rhine were the principal seats of his operations, and his successes were rapid and amazing.

The Helvetii, a hardy race of mountaineers, dwelling in the country north-east of the Lake of Geneva, offered a gallant resistance to his progress, and met the Roman legions near the city of Bibracte (Autun). The fortune of Cæsar prevailed, and the Helvetii were defeated with terrible slaughter. His next antagonist was Ariovistus, king of the Suevi, who had crossed the Rhine at the head of 150,000 men, for the purpose of settling some disputes between two of the Gallic tribes. This arbitration not proving agreeable to Cæsar, the latter immediately proceeded to the banks of the Rhine, where Ariovistus and his barbarian legions were completely discomfited. The king of the Suevi retreated across the river, whither Cæsar deemed it inexpedient to pursue him. Had the Gauls united their forces, they might have, probably by force of overwhelming numbers, driven the Romans from their territories; but they were distracted by quarrels amongst the various tribes that constituted their army, and Cæsar was thus enabled to vanquish them in detail. The Nervii were amongst the most obstinate of his opponents, and were with great difficulty overcome in a single battle, where they lost 55,000 men. In this battle the Romans also lost heavily, in proportion to their numbers. Gaul was speedily subdued, and Cæsar having built a bridge of singular and elaborate construction across the Rhine, proceeded to set sail for Britain, the inhabitants of which island were said to have aided the Gallic tribes a battle with the Romans. Its shores were visible

from the coast of Gaul ; Cæsar, passing over with two legions, B.C., 54, landed near Deal, on the shore of Kent.

CÆSAR INVADES BRITAIN.

The Britons were at this period a race of painted barbarians, who offered a brave but tumultuary resistance to the Romans, whose steady discipline soon drove them from their position. Cæsar himself was amongst the first to seize a standard and spring upon the shore. When once the Romans were landed, the barbarians ceased their resistance, and submitted to their conquerors. A storm, however, arose, which destroyed a large number of the Roman vessels, and Cæsar, perceiving the tribes meditating a renewal of the contest, retired from the island. He returned in the ensuing year with a much larger army, and conquered Cassivelaunus, king of East Britain ;—as Cæsar could not afford to leave garrisons through the country, the moment he departed the islanders renounced their forced allegiance, and resumed their savage independence. Cæsar returned to Gaul, where the war was renewed by the Ædni and Sequani with great fury. There he laid siege to their capital of Alesia, which was forced to surrender to the irresistible power of famine. The brave Gaulish general, Vercingetorix, wishing to spare the miseries of his fellow-citizens, offered to surrender himself, provided their lives were spared ;—Cæsar, with savage brutality, would listen to no such terms. He reserved Vercingetorix as one of the captive princes to grace his triumph, and then put him to death.

Cæsar was the last representative of the Marian party. His triumphs were looked upon with jealousy by Pompey, and with just suspicion by the senate. He had given his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompey, the better to secure the adhesion of the latter to his views ; a tie soon found insufficient to restrain the mutual jealousy which those two chiefs entertained towards each other.

During the lifetime of Julia, their enmity was re-

strained by a sense of public decency ; but on her premature death a great estrangement immediately became manifest between these two candidates for power. The first hostile act of Pompey was to have himself made consul without a colleague, during the absence of Cæsar in Gaul, and to induce a friend of his own, Caius Marcellus, to propose that Cæsar should lay down his command at the expiration of the year, B.C., 50. This proposal was negatived by the tribune, C. Curio, and Cæsar was thus saved from the ruin which must have awaited him had he been then compelled to return to Rome. Being now fully aware of the inimical designs of Pompey, he made every possible exertion to secure to himself the affection of his troops, and the loyalty of the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul.

The senate heard with dismay of the public demonstrations made in his honour by the cities along his line of march. Q. Metellus Scipio, his relative, and lately appointed colleague, proposed that a decree should be issued, peremptorily commanding him to disband his legions and return to Rome; a proposition which was violently opposed by two of the tribunes, Q. Cassius and M. Antony. At this crisis the senate was weak and wavering. At length they gave to Pompey the important commission "to see to the interest of the Republic," a position which at once made him guardian of the constitution ; but, whether through vanity or weakness, he pursued a course of strange inaction, declaring that Cæsar would never venture to make war upon him, and that one stamp of his foot would fill Italy with armed men.

The greatest fears and excitement now prevailed in Rome. Cæsar was looked upon as having nothing but hostile intentions against the liberty of his country ; while Pompey was beheld as its protector and guardian. So strongly did the patricians dread the former, that they proposed various measures to thwart and insult him then with his troops in Gaul ; these were opposed by the partisans of Cæsar in Rome, whom he corrupted by immense bribes. At length the excited and wavering senate passed a decree that Cæsar should

disband his legions, and be deemed a public enemy, in the event of his refusal.

When Cæsar heard this decree, he was encamped at Ravenna, where he was informed that if he crossed the Rubicon, an inconsiderable stream dividing Italy from his province of Cisalpine Gaul, and which no army was allowed to pass without the permission of the senate, he would be considered an enemy of Rome. Immediately, with that energy for which he was always so much distinguished, he at once broke up his encampment, and marched his troops to the banks of that river; there he hesitated for a time, as to what course he should pursue; but, relying on the fidelity of his soldiers, and knowing that submission would no longer save him from the vengeance of Pompey and the senate, he put spurs to his steed, and plunged into the stream, exclaiming "the die is cast." From that hour he no longer wavered, but pursued the great enterprise in which he had embarked with courage, and often with magnanimity.

The cities of Ariminum, Ancona, Pisaurum, Arentium, and others, immediately opened their gates to him, as he proceeded southwards in the direction of Rome. While he relaxed not a moment in prosecuting a course in which he compromised his allegiance to his country, he proposed the most flattering terms of peace, but in which he was by no means sincere.

Nothing but terror and confusion now prevailed in Rome: the consuls, with the affrighted senate, fled from it in various directions. The impression on the public mind of Cæsar's vindictive vengeance was so great, that it was believed he was coming to execute upon the unhappy citizens the most cruel treatment. In this opinion they were mistaken. On the surrender of Corfinium, the capital of the country of the Peligni, he acted with great humanity. There several of the senators became his prisoners, among whom was Lentulus Spinther, the friend of Cicero, and who, when consul, had taken a most active part in his restoration; Cæsar gave them all their liberty, and acted towards them with the greatest kindness—conduct which turned public opinion much in his favour. Cicero was so

pleased that his friend L. Spinther was treated with humanity by the conqueror, that he sent him a letter of thanks, telling him that any favour he had conferred on Spinther, he would gratefully accept it as a personal compliment to himself. With this letter Cæsar was greatly gratified, for he always desired the co-operation, at least, the sanction of Cicero, and in his answer declares that he was much rejoiced in finding any act of his approved by Cicero; he then requests that he would meet him in Rome, where he would be most anxious for his counsel and assistance.*

Pompey, now awake to his real position, on the capture of Corfinium, fled from Rome to Brundisium, where he embarked for Greece. Cæsar soon after arrived in the capital.

The consuls, previous to their flight, locked up the public treasure in the temple of Saturn, and took the keys away with them, believing that the sanctity of the place rendered the treasure sufficiently safe from all violence; but Cæsar ordered the gates of the temple to be broken open immediately, and seized the money for his own purposes. The tribune, Metellus, interposed his authority; when the former enraged with the intermeddling officer, threatened to put him to death immediately:—the golden prize, with him, outweighed the rights of a violated constitution, or the anger of its powerless representative. The wealth he found in the temple was immense:—nor had the republic ever been richer than it was at that moment.†

Cæsar, knowing the importance of Spain, and its general attachment to the Pompeian party, resolved to break their power in that country, before he would carry on any war with Pompey himself. He, therefore, passed over into Spain, where the legates, Afranius and Petreius, had assembled a large army in the neighbourhood of Lerida, in Catalonia, to dispute his power; but their forces almost immediately surrendered to Cæsar, who, in forty days, completely subdued that country.

* Ad. Att., 9, 16.

† Nec fuit aliis temporibus Respub. locupletior.—Plin. Hist., 3.

He then returned to Rome, where, after a short time, his friend, Lepidus, then prætor, created him dictator, when Cæsar made himself consul, with P. Servilius Isauricus. Thus clothed with consular authority, of the value of which he was sufficiently aware, just twelve months after Pompey had left Italy, he marched his troops to Brundisium, from whence he sailed to Greece, in quest of his rival.

Arriving at Dyrrachium in Macedonia, he found Pompey strongly fortified in that city, where he suffered some defeat. Had Pompey observed a dilatory line of action, of which Fabius had left so successful an example, he might have prolonged the contest and ultimately ruined Cæsar, who was very indifferently supplied with the munitions of war; but his whole career was now a series of blunders. He fled from Italy, where his friends and resources were numerous; he suffered Spain, and other places of importance, to fall into the hands of Cæsar, without the slightest effort to maintain them, then fled from Dyrrachium, where Cæsar was much embarrassed, and rashly anxious for a general engagement, retired upon Thessaly, whither he knew Cæsar would quickly pursue him. The latter was as eager as his opponent for the conflict, but still needed a large reinforcement to his troops, and of which he was in momentary expectation. Growing impatient at their delay, he embarked at the coast of Epirus, designing to convey them to Dyrrachium in person. He was not long at sea when a dreadful storm arose, in which the vessel was near being lost: the terrified sailors became bewildered with their fears; but Cæsar, undaunted at the fury of the elements, addressing the pilot, exclaimed,—“Courage, my friend,—you carry Cæsar and his fortunes.” The bark was obliged to return to shore, where he was soon gratified with the intelligence that the expected reinforcements had landed, and were on their way to meet him. He then commenced his pursuit of Pompey, whom, after a few inconsiderable skirmishes, he encountered on the plain of Pharsalia in Thessaly, B.C., 48.

The army of Pompey numbered 45,000 foot and 7,000 horse; while that of Cæsar did not contain in all more than 20,000 men. But the troops of the latter were brave and experienced veterans, who had learned the stern art of war in the campaigns of Gaul and Spain, and reposed implicit reliance upon the genius and fortune of their general.

The soldiers of Pompey, on the contrary, were raw and often mutinous recruits, whose officers consisted of the young and dissolute aristocracy of Rome. His order of battle, nevertheless, displayed much prudent generalship; his veteran troops he placed in the centre of his ranks, where he knew they would have to sustain the brunt of the battle. The Spaniards, under the command of D. Ahenobarbus, occupied his right:—on his left were two legions formerly in the service of Cæsar. The latter resolved to oppose the wing of Pompey in person, and therefore took charge of the right flank of his own army, placing Marcus Antonius on his left and Domitius Calvinus in his centre. He ordered his soldiers to aim their javelins at the faces of Pompey's cavalry, who were mostly young members of the Roman nobility, and who were particularly careful of their personal appearance.

The battle commenced with great fury, and the event appeared for a time doubtful, until Cæsar's stratagem took effect, and the Roman cavalry, terrified at the ghastly wounds inflicted by the weapons of Cæsar's soldiers, fled in confusion. The infantry still, however, continued the combat, but were at last completely broken. Thousands of the Pompeians were cut down, and their leader obliged to fly. Cæsar put a stop to the carnage, and is said to have surveyed with great anguish the bodies of his countrymen who had fallen in the battle. "They would have it so," was his frequent exclamation; but Cæsar felt that it was his own ambition, as well as that of Pompey's, that had entailed such miseries upon their country—hence his words must have proceeded from remorse at conduct which no excuse could justify.

The camp of the vanquished, profusely supplied with riches, fell into the hands of the conqueror, who divided it amongst his soldiers. Pompey, with a small remnant of his army, fled to Larissa, where he fortified himself; but learning that Cæsar was upon his way thither, he escaped and sailed to Lesbos, where he met his wife, Cornelia, and related to her his misfortunes. From that island the unfortunate pair steered to Egypt, expecting to find shelter and hospitality from Ptolemy, the reigning king; but who, learning that the vessel was in sight of Alexandria, called a council to deliberate upon the propriety of receiving the fugitives. The cruel and cowardly advisers of the Egyptian prince counselled him to assassinate Pompey, and thus ingratiate himself into the favour of Cæsar, who, it was expected, would settle a dispute between him and his sister, the celebrated Cleopatra, respecting their rival claims to the crown of Egypt. For this purpose, two of his courtiers, Achilles and Septimius, (the latter had served in the army of Pompey,) were accordingly sent to the vessel with orders to invite the Roman general on shore. Pompey, having learned their errand, parted with melancholy forebodings from Cornelia, and entered the boat. There he employed himself in reading a speech which he intended to make before the king; but, while thus occupied, he was treacherously stabbed by the assassins, and, finding himself unable to resist their atrocity, muffling his head in his robe, fell lifeless in the boat. His unhappy wife beheld this tragedy from her vessel; but the terrified sailors immediately weighed anchor and abandoned this inhospitable coast. The head and right hand of Pompey were cut off and conveyed to Ptolemy. The latter sent them to Cæsar, who nobly received them with a burst of grief, and invoked imprecations upon the heads of such perfidious miscreants. The body of Pompey received obscure funeral obsequies from the hands of one of his freedmen on the coast.

On the death of Pompey, Cæsar was again declared dictator, and M. Antony his master of horse, who, while the former was engaged in the provinces, watched

the movements of his enemies, and kept alive his party in Rome. Cæsar next proceeded to Alexandria, where he met the young and fascinating Cleopatra, sister to the king. That princess soon induced the conqueror to espouse her cause, and place her on the throne of her brother; but the partisans of the young king were enraged at his interference, and Cæsar, in flying from their fury, was obliged to swim from Alexandria to one of his own ships in the harbour—a feat which he is said to have accomplished, holding his celebrated “Commentaries” in his left hand, and his armour between his teeth. The conqueror of Pompey soon returned, and compelled Alexandria to surrender. Cleopatra was placed upon the throne, her brother having been drowned in the Nile. Cæsar delayed for some months in this luxurious capital of Egypt.

The last opponent of Cæsar for the liberty of Rome was M. Porcius Cato. This celebrated man was ardently attached to the shadow of a republican government. After the defeat of his party at Pharsalia, he retired to Utica in Africa, where, with a few enthusiastic exiles, he constructed a new commonwealth and senate. Cæsar made every exertion to induce him to submit, offering wealth and honour if he would acknowledge his authority. A messenger to this effect arriving while Cato was consulting in his “little senate,” he laid the subject before them; but finding them desirous to submit to the conqueror, he advised them to make their own terms. With his mind agitated and disturbed at the defection of his friends and the success of the dictator, he retired to his own house, where he employed himself in reading for some time Plato’s treatise upon the immortality of the soul, and then fell upon his sword, rather than submit to one whom he considered an enemy to the liberty of Rome.

On the fall of Cato, B.C., 46, Numidia, of which Utica was the capital, was converted into a Roman province, and Sallust, the celebrated historian, appointed its governor, where he amassed immense riches. Cæsar, on his return to Rome, was received with universal

applause and boundless honour; but whether this was merely the voice of a faction that had trampled on the liberty of their country, or the gratitude of a nation for the admirable lenity with which Cæsar used his victory, is now not worth inquiring.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Cæsar triumphs in Africa.—Cicero writes the life of Cato—
answered by Cæsar—his government—he aspires to royalty
—his death and character.

Cæsar, shortly after the battle of Pharsalia, went into Africa, where he completely triumphed over Scipio and king Juba, who had endeavoured to sustain the Pompeian party in that country. On his return to Rome he was most desirous to cultivate the friendship of Cicero, although the latter had joined Pompey, and had been in his camp at Dyrrachium. Still Cæsar made every effort to conciliate the *Father of his Country*, whether from admiration of his virtues, or that he felt the connexion of such a man would shed a lustre on his government, and considerably influence others who were hostile to his dynasty. To these addresses Cicero gave a cold and timid recognition; while he secretly deplored the successful progress of irresponsible sway.

Soon after the death of Cato, Cicero, with great independence of mind, wrote the life of that remarkable man, in which work he lost no opportunity to applaud the virtues of Cato, although the latter, with all his family, were distinguished for their uncompromising hostility to Cæsar, whom they opposed as a tyrant. Cæsar, who had as fine a taste for literature as he was eminent in arms, answered the book of Cicero; and although he was severe on the memory of Cato, he evinced no ill feeling towards Cicero for a composition calculated by inference to injure his character. On the contrary, he expressed his highest admiration of the author,

compared him to Pericles and other eminent Grecians, and, with the most unreserved frankness, declared that, by his frequent reading of Cicero's Cato, he derived the greatest improvement both in style* and imagination; an avowal which forms a most amiable trait in the life of Cæsar. Well had it been for himself, his country, and posterity, that such only were his contests, and such his ambition.

CÆSAR'S GOVERNMENT.

The administration of Cæsar was an important, but necessary and grateful change to the Roman people. Distracted by incessant revolutions, and terrified by the proscriptions which inevitably ensued, their minds became disposed towards a complete reaction, and the total overthrow of those institutions in which they once gloried, but which they now perceived to display the unmistakeable symptoms of speedy dissolution. The plebeians, pauperized by taxation, or thinned by internecine war and faction, were glad of any change which would remove them from the power of innumerable tyrants, and Cæsar, by his frequent largesses of corn and money, endeavoured, as much as possible, to foster the desire of repose and complete submission to absolute authority. Banquets were constantly given, and gladiatorial exhibitions—that most depraved and revolting of all the popular amusements of antiquity. The patricians, who still sighed for that power which they showed themselves incompetent and unworthy to hold, made considerable opposition to the rule of the dictator. Abortive conspiracies were detected and suppressed, while the leniency of Cæsar towards these baffled enemies induced many to dignify submission with the title of loyalty. Four gorgeous triumphs over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Juba, king of Mauritania, dazzled the eyes of the citizens, who might contrast these pageants, the signs of the wide-stretching dominion of Rome, with the ferocious demonstrations of

* *Legi epistolam—multa de meo Catone, quo æspissime legendo se dicit copiosiores factum.*—Ad Att., 13.

Marius and Sulla, whose trophies were steeped in the blood of their fellow-citizens. By a decree of the senate, the dictatorship was conferred on Cæsar for a term of ten years, as long a period as could be well assigned to the frail tenure of despotic rule. The censorship and prefecture of manners and customs was conferred upon him also for a term of three years, to enable him to execute the legal reforms which he had long in contemplation. Sumptuary laws, to restrain the daily-increasing extravagance of the nobles, were introduced; and the time of administration in the provinces was reduced, in the case of a prætor, to one year, and in that of a consul, to two:—these officers were likewise made more particularly responsible for their acts during their time of government. By these salutary regulations the provinces, before exhausted and oppressed by the rapacity of their rulers, became tolerable to their inhabitants, and productive to the Roman treasury.

CÆSAR REFORMS THE CALENDAR.

The greatest act of Julius Cæsar's life is that in which he conferred, for many successive centuries, a real and lasting benefit, not only on the Roman, but on the civilized world.

The Roman calendar, as framed by Numa, completely depended for its regulation upon the pontiffs, who frequently shortened or extended the year, as they found necessary, to hasten or delay the election for some public office, or to prolong the administration of a party favourable to some particular interest. A double form of year had existed for a considerable period. One, the year of twelve lunar months, instituted by Numa, and observed in sacerdotal matters; the other, the old Romulian year of ten months, or three hundred and four days, which we find constantly referred to in regard to terms of mourning, of interest upon money, and other matters. These discrepancies challenged the attention of the vigorous mind of Cæsar, who, in the year, B.C., 46, finding that the calculations by the calendar were for some months in advance of the pro-

per time,* engaged the services of Sosigenes, a peripatetic philosopher of Alexandria, much distinguished for his mathematical acquirements, together with M. Flavius, a Roman notary or scribe, of considerable talent. In conjunction with these, Cæsar abolished the Roman lunar year of three hundred and fifty-four days, instead of which he established the solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days, six hours, or that period which the sun appears to travel through the zodiac, before he returns to the same point or place in the heavens from whence he set out. These six hours over the three hundred and sixty-five days, making one day in four years, he added to the beginning of every fifth year, which consequently contained three hundred and sixty-six days. This additional day he accounted for by entering the 24th of February of every fifth year twice in the calendar, which 24th of February being called the *sextum calendarium*, and entered twice (*bis*) every fifth year; hence the latter was called *bissextilis*, or leap year.†

A formidable insurrection in Spain drew off the attention of Cæsar from these ennobling pursuits, to defend the authority of which he had so unscrupulously possessed himself. After the battle of Pharsalia, the sons of Pompey fled to Spain, where they collected the partisans of their father, together with other adherents who had left Utica on the death of Cato. In a short

* Cicero, in his letter to Atticus (X. 17), tells him that he remained in Italy longer than he intended, in consequence of the tempestuous weather of the equinox, and the calms that succeeded it. Yet it was then nearly the end of May! Such was the confusion into which the calendar had fallen.

† But this Julian year (so called in compliment to Julius Cæsar) of three hundred and sixty-five days, six hours, really contained eleven minutes and twelve seconds more than the solar year, which in one hundred and thirty years make an entire day more than the natural year. To correct so serious an error, Pope Gregory XIII., in 1582, ingeniously ordered, that in every four centuries, three leap-years should be omitted, that is, one in the beginning of each of the three first of them, without making any alteration in the fourth. This is what is called the new style, and by which our calendar is at present regulated.

time, their party having become numerous and formidable, they resolved by one bold effort either to totally overthrow the power of Cæsar, or terminate their lives by honourable resistance, rather than live in submission to the conqueror. Many of the towns of Spain opened their gates to receive them, and when Cæsar arrived at Cordova he found the enemy strongly posted. They made a vigorous opposition for a while, but the decisive battle of Munda, in which they were defeated after a tremendous conflict, annihilated their hopes of success in Spain.

In this battle, which took place in March, B.C., 45, the troops of Cæsar were almost overpowered by the furious and repeated assaults of the Pompeian cavalry. The dictator had nearly abandoned himself to despair, and was on the point of terminating his existence with his sword, when he felt himself prompted to make another effort for success. By almost superhuman exertions he stayed the flight of his soldiers, casting himself in their path, and beseeching them with tears not to abandon their veteran general, who had so often led them to victory. The soldiers, stung by his reproaches, rallied and repelled the Pompeians, who were broken in repeated charges by Cæsar's forces, and, as they refused to accept quarter, were almost all cut to pieces during the retreat. Cneius Pompey, the elder brother, was slain while endeavouring to escape to a vessel, but Sextus succeeded in eluding the vigilance of Cæsar's emissaries, and fled to some of the mountain fastnesses of Spain, where he continued for a few years until the renewal of the civil war on the death of Cæsar.

So anxious was Cæsar to cultivate the friendship of Cicero, that he sent him an account of his Spanish campaign; a favour which would seem not very acceptable to the latter, when we consider the connexion that had subsisted between him and the elder Pompey, whom the orator had considered as the representative of Roman liberty; but Cicero had seen with deep regret and pain the vacillation and weakness of Pompey himself; while he could not admire the violence of his sons, from whose warfare he expected no advantage to the

commonwealth ; therefore, in one of his letters to his friend Atticus, he declares that he was quite indifferent to the result of that war, or their fate—an opinion in which one of the most determined republicans that Rome ever saw, C. Cassius, participated : who, in a letter to Cicero, deeply fears the success of the Pompeys, particularly Cneius, whom he considered as a mad fool, that “always deemed cruelty to be a virtue.”*

The victory of Cæsar in Spain was the final blow to the liberty of Rome. Those persons who had before accorded but a temporising homage to the dictator, now vied with each other in manifestations of the most abject servility. Decrees were passed by the senate, which almost negatived the nominal existence of a commonwealth, by voting a public thanksgiving of fifty days, even previous to his return ; by according to him the privilege of continually wearing a triumphal robe ; and by ordering his statues to be placed in all the temples of the gods. The month in which he was born (July) was called by his name, which it at present bears. Many other distinctions were heaped upon him, amongst which we may reckon his election to the office of imperator for life, and a decree proclaiming the inviolability of his person. If Cæsar was not a tyrant, such servility was sure to have made him one. The senate appears to have lost their own self-respect :—on many occasions they approached the dictator in a most supplicating attitude,† as if they had already made him a formal renunciation of their freedom.

The genius of Cæsar, which was bent upon useful and original schemes for the improvement of his country and the security of his rule, found but little time for their accomplishment ; and the great undertakings which were commenced during his brief authority of a few months, cause us to regret that this truly great man had not been suffered to complete those plans to which he had long devoted his powerful understanding. History has recorded a few of these designs, which astonish us at once with their boldness and magnificence. The Isthmus of Corinth was to be divided by a canal, and

* Ep. Fam., 15, 19. † Ep. Fam., 4, 4.

the Archipelago connected with the Gulf of Corinth. The Pontine marshes were to be drained, and, by this means, a vast amount of land recovered for Italian industry, besides the salubrity of that neighbourhood thereby considerably improved. The Roman laws were to be reconstructed, and public libraries instituted for the education of the people. The harbour of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, was to be enlarged, and many colonies were to be established for the purpose of extending the Roman power in the East. These designs, if executed, might have justly raised Cæsar to the rank of the greatest man this world has ever produced, were destined to receive a fatal blow by the overweening ambition of their illustrious projector.

The dictator had, for a considerable time, been meditating a formal and legal declaration of his sovereignty at Rome. Having himself no legitimate children, he adopted, as his son and successor, his own nephew, M. Octavius (or Octavianus), afterwards better known as Augustus, emperor of Rome. It was agreed between Cæsar and his colleague, M. Antony, that the dictator should receive an offer of the crown at the hands of the latter, during the celebration of the Lupercalian games of Pan, in the month of February. At these games young men, naked to the waist, ran madly through the streets with lashes in their hands, whipping with impunity whomsoever they met. There Cæsar presided, seated in a golden chair, and dressed in his triumphal robe. The experiment proved more hazardous than had been anticipated, and Cæsar seeing evident marks of disapprobation among the crowd, at this proposal, refused the offered crown from Antony—a refusal which was received by the assembled multitude with loud manifestations of applause. Yet Antony, with the most unblushing effrontery, as consul, had it entered in the archives of the capitol, that, *at the command of the people, he offered the title of king to Cæsar*, which the latter refused.

The dictator, mortified at this outbreak of the still dormant spirit of republicanism, resolved to defer the execution of his design to a more suitable opportunity : but vented his chagrin by punishing severely the tri-

bunes, Marullus and Cæsetius, for removing the crown, which some of the partisans of the dictator had privately placed upon his statue in the rostra ; those officers had even sent several persons to prison for saluting Cæsar as king in the public streets. This procedure enraged the dictator ; but, while he disguised his anger, he was anxious to gratify his vengeance, and forego that lenity which he usually exercised towards his political adversaries. He charged the tribunes before the senate with the design of exciting the public mind against him, as if, in reality, he desired to be made a king. His influence with the senate was all-supreme ; and that obsequious body was about to pass the last sentence of the law upon those honest tribunes, when Cæsar himself interposed, and was satisfied with their degradation from office, and expulsion from the senate. Still his heart was enamoured with the idea of a "kingly crown," and by that illusion he fell.

Seeing the great unpopularity with which royalty was viewed by the Romans, he adopted a course by which, in all human probability, his plans might have succeeded. His preparations for the Parthian war were now complete, to which he resolved to lead his legions in person. Upon this expedition he purposed to be absent at least two years : as dictator, he appointed the several great officers of the state who were to conduct the civil, while he was to be engaged with the military affairs of the republic. To Dolabella he gave the consulship for the remainder of the present year ; A. Hirtius and C. Pansa were to be the consuls for the year following ; and Decimus Brutus, with Cn. Plancus, were to succeed Hirtius and Pansa. These men were constantly about him, and to them, it is thought, he confided the ungracious task of agitating, in his absence, the question of royalty ; while he himself would be employed in subjugating the enemies of the empire, or enlarging its confines, when he anticipated that the people would be in better humour with him, and more disposed to his designs. He even caused his partisans in Rome to report, that the Sibylline books declared that the Parthians never could be conquered except by the hand of a king.

All these things sunk deep into the minds of the republican party, who hated royalty, however mild, or by whom illustrated. An extensive conspiracy against Cæsar was the result, composed of about sixty persons, almost all of the highest order in society, who resolved to cut him off at the earliest opportunity, and re-establish the republic on its ancient foundation. The two chiefs of this confederacy were Marcus Brutus and C. Cassius Longinus.

Marcus Junius Brutus was a member of one of the most distinguished families of Rome, and a lineal descendant of Junius Brutus,* the founder of the republic: he was nephew and son-in-law of Cato, whose daughter, Porcia, he married. Thus he may be said to have had an hereditary hatred to kings.

Young Brutus was remarkable for the excellence of his understanding, which he cultivated with the greatest assiduity; and, in a short time, was master of all those arts by which the young nobility of Rome, who were ambitious of honourable distinction, excelled. Although he carefully attended to his military studies, the more graceful and elegant acquirements of the bar and the senate were more peculiarly to his taste. He was patient of labour—self-denying: from a coldness of manner he attached himself to the Stoics; but his nature appears to have been unsuited to the stern principles of that sect. Eloquence was his favourite study; but in which he so much affected the logician, that his style became harsh, and often ineffective. The political principles of Brutus were of the purest character. Although Pompey was the murderer of his father, yet, considering him as the representative of Roman liberty, he forgave that act, followed his standard, and fought under him at Pharsalia.

Cæsar had long admired the talents of Brutus, and wished to draw him from Cato and republicanism. At the fight of Pharsalia he gave directions that Brutus should be sought out and spared; a clemency which gave

* This lineage is denied by Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, and asserted by Cicero and Corn. Nep.

rise to a popular story, that the conqueror believed Brutus to be his own son, by Servilia, the mother of Brutus. This is not probable; for, besides other facts, Brutus was only fifteen years younger than Cæsar himself. Cæsar forgave him all his political differences, brought him to Rome, and induced him, by every possible attention, not to follow Cato and the other leaders, who had retired to Africa after their defeat at Pharsalia. Brutus, if he was attached to Cæsar, tortured himself with the idea that he owed a far greater love to his country than to his friend. While labouring under these morbid sentiments, he was induced, by C. Cassius Longinus, to take part in a conspiracy which he and others were forming against the life of the dictator.

Caius Cassius Longinus was also of noble birth. He was brother-in-law to Marcus Brutus, having married Tertia, the sister of the latter. He was bold and brave—moderate in his pleasures—and carried his love of temperance so far, that he drank nothing stronger than water. Unlike Brutus, he was passionate and cruel. He served as *quæstor* under Crassus, in the Parthian war;—had that general adopted his suggestions, the fatal termination of that campaign could not have occurred. For a time he acted as lieutenant under Pompey, in Syria, where he made himself extremely obnoxious to the inhabitants by his cruel and rapacious conduct. Being a fierce republican, he fought under Pompey at Pharsalia, and then sailed to Asia, in order to carry the war into that country against the conqueror. Thither Cæsar soon came, and Cassius having received intelligence where his adversary intended to land, conceived the design of cutting him off by surprise. For this purpose he hid himself near the mouth of the Cydnus, in Cilicia; but Cæsar, in the interim, landed on the opposite shore, and Cassius, seeing the loud acclamations with which he was received by the people in all directions, abandoned his design, and made his peace with the conqueror. In this account we have followed that given by Cicero. Another version of this transaction is, that Cassius happened to meet Cæsar crossing the Hellespont in a common open boat, and,

when the latter was in his power, was so scared by the appearance of Cæsar, that, in the most dastardly manner, he begged his life, and delivered up his fleet to him ; a course by no means probable for the fiery and indomitable Cassius.

Brutus and Cassius were the ardent admirers of Cato and Cicero, from whom they early imbibed their political sympathies ; therefore did they enter into this conspiracy upon principles which they esteemed public virtue ; although it has been asserted that Brutus alone, of all the conspirators, was actuated for the public weal :—as the infamous M. Antony was the author of this report, it is worthy of nothing but contempt.

DECIMUS BRUTUS.

In this conspiracy was also engaged another remarkable character—Decimus Brutus, a relative of Marcus. The appearance of Decimus in this plot astonished all parties ; perhaps, indeed, himself. Decimus Brutus was always about the person of Cæsar ; had received the highest honours from, and was intrusted by him with some of the most important commands. Cæsar had recently given him the province of Cisalpine Gaul, the consulship for the following year, and even had made him heir to his estate,* in the event of the decease of his nephew, young Octavius. That such a man, thus honoured, trusted, and beloved, might disapprove of the acts of his patron, may be well conceived and pardoned ; but to turn his sword against him, in his hour of peril, was base and treacherous. Some have endeavoured to justify this conduct, by supposing that the love of country was above his private friendships—a justification which even Cicero has vainly endeavoured to sanction. In other respects the character of Decimus Brutus was respectable. In war, he was brave and talented ; in peace, by the aid of a vast fortune, he lived in a noble hospitality ; in his ardour for the success of the republican party, he expended

* Appian, 2, 185.

£400,000 of his own money ; to the last he remained true to the cause, and perished in its defence.

This conspiracy was likewise supported by other daring spirits. Caius Trebonius, a man of consular rank, distinguished for humanity, the elegance of his conversation, and a refined literary taste. Like D. Brutus, he also was frequently about the person of Cæsar, and supposed to have been much attached to him. Cicero, in his fervour for liberty, appears to apologise for them when he says that they preferred to extinguish tyranny, rather than uphold it. There were also Tullius Cimber, M. Cinna, Pontius Aquila, with many other members of the first families in Rome, besides several of humbler station, but not less honourable. The intention of the conspirators was the assassination of Cæsar, at the first favourable opportunity, and the re-establishment of the republic. The destruction of Antony was also proposed, but rejected at the instigation of Brutus, who, in his weakness, attached too little importance to the life of that wily politician, and thus rendered abortive the scheme which involved the sacrifice of so great a man as Caius Julius Cæsar.

Information of this impending attempt upon his life was conveyed, perhaps too vaguely, to the ears of the dictator ; but who, with the chivalry of the battle-field, refused the defence of a guard of honour, which the senate was willing to afford him.

DEATH OF CÆSAR.

A meeting of the senate was proclaimed for the Ides (the 15th) of March, B.C. 44, upon which day it was expected that the dictator would be declared king. This opportunity was, therefore, settled upon by the conspirators for the execution of their design. Cæsar was warned by some stranger, and also by one of the soothsayers, to avoid attending the senate upon that day, but he was resolved that no superstitious feelings should interfere with the consummation of his

long-cherished hopes. He was a little deterred, however, by the entreaties of his wife, Calpurnia, who, having been troubled for some time past by frightful dreams, besought her husband not to attend the senate upon the Ides of March. The dictator was, however, persuaded by Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, to go, telling him that his absence would be considered an affront by the senate.

Early in the morning of the Ides of March, M. Brutus and C. Cassius, as prætors, took their usual seats in the forum, to hear such causes as should be preferred to their jurisdiction, upon which they adjudicated with the calmest indifference; nor did they leave their tribunals until it was announced that Cæsar was entering the senate-house, when they rose to decide a mightier controversy.

On his way to the senate-house, Cæsar was handed a letter containing full information to the nature of the plot, and the names of the conspirators. This letter he neglected to open, and which, perhaps, had he read, might not have been deterred from his undertaking. On arriving within the building his robe was seized by Cimber, who pretended to be pertinaciously suing for some favour from the dictator, who at this moment received a blow in the back of the neck from Publius Casca and several others of the conspirators. Instantly he sprang to his feet and defended himself with great courage; but finding himself assailed by Brutus,* whom he considered his friend and familiar, he covered his face in his robe, and sunk at the base of Pompey's statue. His body was almost instantly pierced with three and twenty wounds. Brutus and Cassius were so eager to despatch him, that they wounded each other in the struggle: all were dappled with the blood of their victim. We are told, upon good authority, that Cicero was present, and justified the deed.†

Thus perished, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, Caius Julius Cæsar, the last great republican general of

* See Note D.

† Ad Att., 14, 14; but see Note E.

Rome. The chief events of his life, and features of his character, have been already delineated in the foregoing pages; but history is incompetent to do full justice to the variety of his talents or the vicissitudes of his career. As a general, his invariable success must have proceeded from the rare combination of transcendent talent with indomitable energy. His oratorical powers were extremely brilliant, and to their timely exercise he was indebted for the success of his defence, when charged with a participation in the conspiracy of Catiline. His *Commentaries*, which have been preserved, are a specimen of elegant Latinity, in which we cannot but admire the modesty of the illustrious author, who endeavours studiously to conceal his own merit, and exalt the valour of his troops. The work is enriched by terse and original observations upon the manners and customs of tribes, then little known to the Roman world, but whose descendants have been destined to erect another civilization upon its ruins. To his political enemies he was generous and forbearing, seldom severe, except when they broke their promise of adhesion to his government. His morals were dissolute and irregular. His extravagance in sumptuous banquets and gladiatorial shows were so enormous as to appear almost incredible. A man of genius himself, he was a generous admirer of it in others. But false ambition was his passion. His wars in Gaul alone were carried on at an enormous cost of human suffering, and completed only by the sacrifice of one million two hundred thousand lives. It is impossible to say when Cæsar first set his heart upon the possession of supreme power; but, for nearly forty years of a life by no means long, that power seems to have been his object; from which neither the danger of camps, the intrigues of faction, nor the fascinations of pleasure, ever for a moment turned him aside. Having obtained the long-sought prize, he enjoyed it but for the transient period of five months, when he perished under the daggers of three and twenty conspirators.

CHAPTER XXXV.

M. Antony.—Octavius Cæsar.—Cicero writes his Philippics.—
Flight of Antony.

Immediately on the fall of Cæsar, the terrified senators hastily returned to their houses, not knowing what part to take or what to think of the dreadful tragedy of that day. Brutus, in a studied oration, requested them to remain and pronounce judgment upon the deed. But five centuries had materially changed the character of that people who had so tumultuously responded to the call of Junius Brutus at the expulsion of the Tarquins. The conspirators were eyed with distrust and heard with silence; nor could they, by any declamation, touch one sympathetic chord in the hearts of men who had been dazzled by the magnificence and indulgence of the dictator. The partisans of Cassius, seeing the unpopularity of their cause, retired to the capitol, where they fortified themselves, and made proposals of reconciliation to Antony and Lepidus, who had seized the effects of Cæsar, and assumed the reins of government. Antony had no notion of either peace or reconciliation, his sole object being to grasp at supreme power and play the tyrant. For this purpose he drew Lepidus into his toils, gave him the high-priesthood, vacant by the death of Cæsar, and, the better to cement their usurpation, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Lepidus. On the third day after the death of Cæsar, Antony summoned the senate. There his views appeared most amicable: he proposed that Brutus and the rest of his party who had fortified themselves in the capitol should be invited to take share in their councils; and, in proof of his sincerity, sent his son as a hostage for their safe return. Upon terms so plausible, the conspirators came down from the capitol—such was their reliance upon the honour and integrity of Antony, that Cassius dined that day with him, and Brutus with Lepidus—a union that gave universal joy in Rome, and

when all vainly believed that their liberty was secure. Still Antony, while making the most plausible professions for peace and concord, was drawing from all parts troops about the city, with whose presence and for whose favour he passed several decrees against the wishes of the republican party ; particularly one ordering a public funeral to Cæsar ; a measure which was strongly remonstrated against by the friends of Brutus ; but it was now too late : Antony would have it so, and he was in a position to enforce his wishes.

On this occasion Antony delivered such an inflammatory, yet artful harangue, to the soldiers and a hired mob, in praise of Cæsar, that it was with the greatest difficulty Brutus and Cassius escaped with their lives from the violence of a mercenary mob, composed, for the most part, of Cæsar's freedmen. Others were also maltreated by the rabble, who murdered Helvius Cinna on the spot, having mistaken him for Cinna, the prætor, who had lately, in a public address to the people, justified the death of Cæsar.

The republican party saw their fatal error : they gave credence to a man who was always a profligate ; allowed him time to mature his plans ; and who was now their master. They had no army to back their cause ; their friends were scattered and undefended ; their only alternative was to fly as exiles from that city, where a few days before they thought they had struck down tyranny for ever. Decimus Brutus privately left Rome for his province of Cisalpine Gaul ; C. Trebonius for his government of Asia ; Brutus and Cassius left for the Lanuvian villa of the former, about sixteen miles from Rome, there to consider their prospects and the strange turn their cause had taken. Cicero likewise left Rome. In passing through the country, he witnessed with a painful pleasure so many popular rejoicings at the death of Cæsar, that he justly thought the position of his party should have been otherwise, and finely observed in his letter to his friend Atticus—"Every one throngs around me to hear the pleasing intelligence" (the death of Cæsar). "What a contradiction is ours—to be afraid of those whom we have subdued—to suffer tyranny to

live, when the tyrant is slain—the republic to be lost when our freedom is restored.”*

So consummate a hypocrite was Antony, that as soon as he had driven the leaders of the republican party from Rome, he affected to deplore their absence, and promised that he would, as consul, pass a decree to abolish for ever the name of dictator. There was one Marius, an impostor, the most turbulent of the mob, who had headed the rioters at Cæsar’s funeral, where he committed great violence against those who were at all suspected of being partial to Brutus and Cassius, or any way connected with the death of Cæsar. This man was either set on by Antony, or his outrages were connived at by him. However, the latter having made Marius subservient to his purposes, then caused him to be strangled in prison, and his naked body publicly dragged through the streets of Rome, in proof of his attachment to liberty and his desire to support the popular cause; a procedure that gave such hopes to the friends of the constitution that, soon after, Brutus and Cassius had a personal interview with Antony upon the affairs of the country, and as to what were his ultimate designs. At this meeting all parties seemed mutually satisfied.

In all these movements Antony was a thorough dissembler. Although he had succeeded in driving the leaders of the revolution from the city, he feared nothing so much as that they should leave Italy, or take up arms to decide the controversy: knowing that their cause was very popular, and that if they threw themselves into some of the great cities of the empire, where they were sure to obtain all the munitions of war, he was at present not in a condition to cope with them. Such were his real motives for his apparent moderation, by which he too well succeeded in neutralizing the councils of his adversaries. In the interim he made a tour through Italy, in which he visited all the places where the legions were stationed, whom he flattered with his praise, and drew, by every

* Ad Att., 14, 6.

species of corruption, large bodies of them to Rome. With the most consummate cunning he induced the senate, out of respect to the memory of Cæsar, to pass a decree confirming all the acts of the latter ; that is, all the promises which he had made, or was said to have made, either to his generals, foreign princes, or communities, in any part of the empire. Under the dictation of Cæsar, his genuine acts had been drawn up by his own private secretary, whom Antony had now suborned ; and when the latter wished to extend a franchise, remit a tax, or grant any favour, he privately ordered the secretary to draw it up according to the wishes of the suitor ; this done, he declared that he found the document among the *acts* of Cæsar. There was none to gainsay him ; it was in the same style and character as all the rest, and so passed into a law. Those acts he sold publicly, and by the sale realized vast sums of money. He seized the public treasury, by which he obtained possession of several millions of our currency. With this plunder he paid off in fourteen days three hundred thousand pounds of his debts, while he had more than sufficient to bribe and support any army.

The friends of freedom had relied solely upon their own integrity and the purity of their cause. But these were abstractions to which the treacherous sensual Antony was a stranger : power only was his object, and that for the gratification of the grossest passions. Brutus was now at last awake to his real position ; his obstinate lenity in sparing Antony was his fatal error, which he could neither cure nor control. He and Cassius sent a joint letter to him, remonstrating against his conduct ; but it was such as men write who are in the power of another, and not in their own. Still Antony continued his professions of regard for the leaders of the revolution and their cause, while he was making every possible effort to crush both. However, finding that there was nothing but danger and dishonour to remain any longer in Italy, Brutus and Cassius departed at once to those provinces which Cæsar had assigned them on his intended expedition to Parthia—Macedonia to M. Brutus, Syria to C. Cassius.

OCTAVIUS CÆSAR.

At this interval a new candidate for power and popular favour arrived in Rome—Octavius, nephew of J. Cæsar, whose name he assumed as heir to his estates. Octavius Cæsar was now but nineteen years of age;—his appearance in the capital considerably changed the aspect of public affairs. He found that the greater portion of his uncle's property had been fraudulently seized and consumed by Antony in relieving himself from those embarrassments in which his extravagant and dissipated life had placed him. Octavius was marked with more than premature prudence. He felt it would be hazardous for a youth like him to tax Antony with his injustice, not only because he was then the most powerful man in Rome, but because he professed to be the avenger of the death of Cæsar. Still Octavius, while he continued to solicit the restoration of his uncle's fortune, with admirable address, left Antony no pretext for an open quarrel between them: the latter, disappointed in this design, received young Octavius with disdain, and openly opposed all his efforts to gain the tribunate, to which the nephew of Cæsar had aspired. This hostility between two persons who were supposed to be embarked in the same cause, revived the hopes of the republican party. Octavius, finding himself thus thwarted in all his views, is said to have formed a design to slay Antony, for which purpose he hired assassins to murder him in his own house:—the plot was discovered, and the assassins seized while they were lying in wait for their victim. Some asserted that this was merely a false report spread abroad by Antony, to justify at once his ill treatment of Octavius and his unpardonable retention of Cæsar's estate; but Cicero confidently declares that all the wise and good believed and applauded the fact.*

Nor was Octavius otherwise idle: by the aid of a vast fortune and his connexion with Cæsar, he soon raised a formidable army, among which was a great number of the veteran troops of his uncle.

* Ep. Fam , 12, 23.

Antony, now fearing the energy of Octavius, whom he had called a mere boy, hastily left Rome in order to meet four legions which were on their return home from Macedonia, and which he wished to engage on his side ; for it was now clear that war was inevitable between him and his youthful rival. With those legions he came up at Brundisium, when, to his great mortification, three of them totally refused all his offers, and declined to join any party—a declaration that so enraged him, that he inveigled three hundred centurions of those legions into his palace at Brundisium, where he had them brutally massacred, while he and his wife Fulvia stood calmly by, enjoying the savage scene! He then returned to Rome, where he resolved to play the tyrant ; but a few days, however, had elapsed, when he learned that two of the three legions that had refused their adhesion to him had actually declared for Octavius, and had now posted themselves at Alba, within a few miles from Rome. This intelligence so alarmed him that he hastily left the city that night with his army, determined to take possession of Cisalpine Gaul, the province of Decimus Brutus.

On the retreat of the tyrant Antony, Cicero immediately left his retirement, and returned to the capital, in hopes once more to save his country. The moment seemed propitious for the restoration of the constitution. Octavius, both by messengers and letters, had repeatedly solicited the patronage of Cicero, and promised to govern himself in all things by his advice ; but Cicero, seeing the formidable army the latter had so suddenly raised, and his great popularity with the veteran troops, declared that he could give no countenance to young Octavius, unless he would prove himself a friend to Brutus, and that he should not object to the tribunate of that Casca who gave Cæsar the first stroke ; Cicero believing that the fulfilment of these conditions would test the sincerity of Octavius. All these matters the latter undertook to do, and Casca was elected tribune for the ensuing year, without any interposition on the part of Octavius, when Cicero at once abandoned all his doubts and fears ; and while he pathetically

lamented the absence of Brutus, he now gave Octavius the benefit of his experience, and all the influence he could command. With his advice, the latter marched his troops to watch the motions of Antony, while the consuls, A. Hirtius and C. Pansa, were to follow and support with their united forces Decimus Brutus, now besieged by Antony at Modena.

The friends of constitutional liberty saw, in the measures of Antony, that he was merely engaged in endeavouring to make himself absolute;—of that number was Cicero, and who made every opposition against such designs. This he did chiefly by a series of harangues which he delivered in the senate against Antony: these he called his *Philippics*, from their resemblance to the speeches of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon. By these means, he induced the senate to declare Antony a public enemy, and send the army we have already mentioned to support Decimus Brutus, rather than tolerate the usurpation of the licentious Antony. This army was placed under the command of the consuls, A. Hirtius and C. Pansa, while young Octavius was appointed prætor, who Cicero vainly hoped would restore the independence of Rome. The consular army proceeded to the relief of D. Brutus, B.C., 43. Here Antony received a total defeat; but Hirtius was slain in the fight, and Pansa shortly afterwards died of his wounds. These were the two last consuls of the republic; their death was ominously coeval with that of the liberty of their country. It has been said, that Octavius caused Hirtius to be secretly assassinated; and, according to Suetonius, that he poisoned the wounds of Pansa; but Cicero* refutes the charge, and asserts the honour of Octavius, for which the latter made so base a return, that it gives an air of probability to any charge, however wicked, that has been alleged against him; besides, it is clear that he did not wish the total subjugation of Antony; hence, he would not pursue him, knowing that if the latter was destroyed, the republican

* *Epist. ad Brut.*, vi.

party would be too strong for the enemies of the constitution.

Antony fled into Gaul to M. Lepidus, who hailed him as conqueror, and Octavius assumed the direction of the consular troops ; but a decree of the senate, appointing D. Brutus to that command, having shortly afterwards arrived, the former prudently yielded to the orders of the senate, and hid his disappointed ambition under the plausible semblance of obedience to the wishes of the conscript fathers. Shortly afterwards he became desirous of the consulship ; and it is very remarkable, that even in that period of political expediency, not one senator was found to offer him his vote on the occasion. Octavius then sent a deputation of his officers to ask this honour for their general ; but the senate, justly considering this an unconstitutional mode of procedure, and although they were aware of the power and feared the vengeance of the candidate, received the deputation with doubt and coldness ; when one of those officers, more candid than cautious, flinging back his robe with an air of contempt, exclaimed—"if you refuse to make him consul, *this* shall," as he placed his hand upon his sword. Octavius put an end to the controversy : he immediately marched to Rome with his legions, and he personally solicited the consulate for the ensuing year. This, a strong party of patricians still refused to sanction ; but, by the unmistakeable voice of his legions, he received that honour, and when Q. Pedius, another nephew of J. Cæsar, was declared his colleague. Having now achieved the consulship, and collected a great army around him, which was every day increasing, both by the love the veterans bore to the memory of J. Cæsar, and the large bounty Octavius was giving to each man, he began to unfold his real intentions.

His first act of absolute authority was to plunder the public treasury, and distribute it among his soldiers, declaring that he was driven to this aggression by the unpardonable neglect of the senate for the interests of those men who fought their battles and bled in their cause. With Cicero, to whom he was so much indebted, and by whose counsel he so often declared he would be

governed, he made an affectation of being angry, declaring that the orator had used certain ambiguous words respecting his life. From these, and other matters, it was clear he had already changed his principles (if he ever had any)—a change at which the senate, as well as the republican party, were alike alarmed, knowing the vast power already in the hands of this young man.

Octavius soon after proceeded with his army to the north of Italy, in order, as it was thought, to oppose Lepidus and Antony, then descending from the Alps upon Italy. In the interim, the first act of Q. Pedius was to carry a law in the senate, declaring the murderers of J. Cæsar exiles. This was clearly the intrigue of Octavius, not only from family feeling, but that D. Brutus should be driven from that power which had been so lately conferred on him by the senate. The next important movement of Q. Pedius was his having induced the conscript fathers to revoke the decree of banishment they had pronounced against Antony and Lepidus, whose progress Octavius had now professedly gone to oppose;—to oppose two generals, from whom the ban of the senate had been already removed by his own intrigues, was a mere delusion.—Octavius, fearing their united powers, went to see what terms he could make with those men for his own aggrandizement.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Second Triumvirate.—Murder of Cicero.—Battles of Philippi.
—Brutus and Cassius compared.—Battle of Actium.—
Young M. Cicero.

As long as Antony remained in exile out of Italy, Octavius was satisfied, believing that he could of himself manage all other difficulties; but finding that Antony, whose genius he feared, had now returned with

a formidable army, a considerable part of which was esteemed the best disciplined in the empire, he resolved on a private interview with the latter, and try the bold experiment of another triumvirate, rather than hazard the doubtful contingencies of battle. Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius, were mutual enemies to each other, but between them there was one common feeling to all—the utter destruction of those who asserted the liberty of Rome.

This memorable interview took place on a small island formed by the river Rhenus, which runs near the city of Bononia; while the manner by which it was conducted shows them to have been, perhaps, the three meanest wretches that ever met to execute the lowest villainy. Each was attended by five legions of his choicest veterans, arranged in separate camps in view of the island. Lepidus first crossed over, in order to examine that there was no plot or treachery there. Upon satisfying himself in this particular, he gave the signal agreed upon, when Antony and Octavius, from opposite banks of the river, passed over to the island, by bridges, each guarded by three hundred of their own men. There, having met, they had the meanness each to search the other, lest they should have provided themselves with daggers, secretly hid under their robes. This despicable act being finished, these congenial spirits sat down to their atrocious conclave, in which they were engaged three days. The result was, that they should conjointly assume the supreme and absolute power; that they should, by mutual consent, appoint all the officers of the government, whether in Rome or in the colonies; that Lepidus should have for his province, Spain and Narbonese Gaul—Antony, Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul—and Octavius, Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and the islands in the Mediterranean; that Lepidus should, with three legions, be left to guard Rome, while Antony and Octavius, with twenty legions each, should prosecute the war against Brutus and Cassius; that, at the expiration of the war, eighteen of the richest cities of Italy, with their lands and possessions, should be taken from their present proprietors, and

given to the soldiers of the triumvirate, as the reward of their labours.

The better to carry these measures into effect, they drew up a proscription list, which is said to have contained the names of two thousand knights and three hundred members of the senatorial order, all doomed to fall under the daggers of the triumvirs, for their real or supposed attachment to the liberty of Rome. In this catalogue of the proscribed, they betrayed both their cowardice and ferocity: Lepidus surrendered his own brother, Paulus; Antony, his uncle, Lucius Cæsar; and Octavius, his own friend and supporter, Cicero! It has been asserted by Plutarch, that it was with the greatest reluctance Octavius consented to the death of Cicero. But this was all affectation of the wily Octavius. Cicero was not only the most influential but ardent opponent to tyranny; hence they could not spare him. As to Lepidus giving up his brother, and Antony his uncle, that Cicero might perish, it is clear that it was a mere trick to colour the assassination of one of the greatest spirits of antiquity, as neither Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, nor L. Cæsar, the uncle of Antony, fell in the proscription; on the contrary, they were protected by their relatives in power.*

The lists of the proscribed were distributed amongst the soldiers, and even hired assassins were engaged to carry out this sanguinary design. A scene of horror ensued, which, perhaps, has never been exceeded in the annals of history. The unfortunate proscribed endeavoured to escape from Rome, but were overtaken and massacred by the emissaries of the triumvirs. Slaves received rewards for the betrayal of their masters; wives and children were put to the torture, to betray the place of concealment of husbands, parents, and brothers; the dearest ties of nature were severed by the swords of the assassins, and the wretched relatives were forbidden to mourn the fate of their friends. The triumvirate had marked out *seventeen* persons who were to perish immediately, without delay or respite, and

* Appian, lib. iv.—Dion., lib. 47.

whose existence the monsters considered fatal to their own infamous compact. Of this number was Cicero, the most important and the most feared by the enemies of freedom.

The emissaries of the triumvirs having arrived in Rome for their bloody purpose, four of the seventeen doomed to instant assassination were surprised and murdered, almost immediately, in the company of their friends; the remainder were hunted for from house to house, from temple to temple; an universal terror seized the citizens, each not knowing when he himself should fall a victim to this tyranny. This scene of public dismay and confusion was terrific; to allay which, the consul, Pedius, was compelled to go up and down the city all night to appease the affrighted inhabitants. In the morning, he published the names of those who were thus devoted to the assassin's knife, while he assured all others of protection and safety; but he himself was so exhausted by the fatigue and horror of that terrible night, that he died on the ensuing day.*

MURDER OF CICERO.

Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, with his nephew, and brother Quintus, when he heard of the proscription. Immediately they set out for Astura, where he had a marine residence, the party intending to take ship for Macedonia, or some distant port out of the reach of the assassins. Unhappily, Quintus, considering himself not sufficiently provided with money and other necessaries for a voyage, returned to Rome with his son, where he hoped to conceal himself until he should be in a condition to join his brother. In the interim, Cicero embarked at Astura, but the wind being adverse, after sailing a short distance, he landed at Circeum, where he spent a night in great agony of mind as to what course he should pursue. His faithful servants induced him to re-embark and sail to Cajeta, where he again went on shore, and visited his Formian villa. There he

* Appian, b. 4. Plut. in Antony.

rested for some hours, but his mind was so depressed, alike weary of life and the dangers of the ocean, that he declared he would fly no further, but die in that country which he had so often saved.*

To this his friends would not listen, who, finding that soldiers were seen prowling about the villa, immediately placed him in a litter, and conveyed him by private paths towards their ship in the harbour. They were soon, however, overtaken by the assassins of the triumvirs, when the servants of Cicero prepared to defend their master's life at any hazard; but he commanded those brave and faithful servants to set him down, and make no resistance; then, looking at the miscreants with dauntless courage, and stretching his neck as far as he could out of the litter, bade them execute their bloody purpose. In an instant his head and both hands were cut off and conveyed to Antony, who received them with ferocious triumph, and exposed these sad remains of Rome's greatest orator in that forum where his voice had been ever ready to assert the liberties of his country.

For some time his brother, Quintus, lay concealed in his own house; but, finding his son put to the torture to reveal his father's retreat, the wretched parent sprang from his hiding-place and avowed himself, when both father and son perished, almost immediately, under the hands of their ruthless assassins.

M. T. Cicero was one of the greatest men of antiquity. Surrounded by the fog and gloom of the grossest idolatry and debasing superstition—unaided by the lamp of revelation, yet, by the force of his great mind, he was *almost a Christian*, teaching, as he did, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, that there was one God, eternal, self-existent, by whom the world was created, and who sustains it by his Providence. It was his constant theme, that he who could think all the glories of creation were but the result of some blind, inexplicable chance, was unworthy the name

* ——— “Moriar” inquit “in patria,
Sæpe servata.”—Liv. Fragm.

of man, when, with the greatest stretch of human wisdom, we cannot penetrate the depth of that wisdom which contrived those glories.* These, and many such doctrines, induced his impassioned admirer, Erasmus, to exclaim, "that the breast from which such sentiments flowed must have been inspired by the Deity."†

A modern writer‡ thinks that Cicero had little or no merit for his philosophical treatises, as he merely advanced opinions already propounded by others. This, to some extent, is true; but it is also certain, that in maintaining the *immortality of the soul—a place of rewards and punishments after death—one God, the author and sustainer of the universe*, and many such dogmas, Cicero did not desecrate these great truths with any of the folly which several of his predecessors have confounded them. Thus, Plato, to prove his metempsychosis, and the immortality of the soul, asserts that the dead are born from the living, and the living from the dead. Another distinguished Platonist also believed in the immortality of the soul, but acknowledged no other deity than the heavens and the "Seven Stars." Pythagoras, while he believed in the immortality of the soul, insisted on its transmigration from one body into another, and declared that he recollected himself to have been Æthalides, the son of Mercury—to have assisted at the Trojan war, as Euphorbus—to have animated the body of Hermodotus; that afterwards his soul passed into the body of a fisherman; and lastly, into that of Pythagoras. Even Philo Judæus, a Hebrew by birth and education, and who ought to have had a correct idea of the true God, his power and providence, gravely asserts that Abel, through his ignorance of the encyclical sciences (grammar, rhetoric, and geometry), fell a victim to the evil passions of Cain. Upon the same principle, he would explain the partnership in power of Moses and Aaron. But Cicero was above such dreams of mysti-

* De Nat. Deor., 2, 38.

† Erasm. Ep. ad Joh. Ulattenum.

‡ Heinrich Ritter, Hist. Ancient Philosophy, Eng. Trans., art. Cicero.

cism, and was the first Pagan to announce these great truths in their native dignity, clear and unclouded. Hence, his writings had a vast influence, not only on his own age, but in the happier days of Christian philosophy.

The political career of Cicero has been charged with indecision and weakness, but certainly on insufficient grounds. If, at one period, he seemed to have looked upon Pompey as the good genius of his country, who was to restore its fading liberties, it must be owned that he gave that general his fullest confidence, graced his camp with his presence, and added dignity to it by his name; but when he saw Pompey indulging in vain boasts—flying before Cæsar with indecision and fear—leaving countries where his friends were strongest, and meeting a powerful enemy where Pompey could calculate upon neither friends nor resources—Cicero, seeing there could be no hope from such a man, hid his affliction in a sullen obedience to the conqueror of Pharsalia, and yielded to a power he could not control:—this was wisdom, not weakness.

The triumvirs ceased their sanguinary labours with the extinction of every noble and chivalrous spirit among the Roman people that they could murder or destroy. They were, however, soon called from these cold-blooded atrocities, to meet a valiant enemy in the field. Brutus and Cassius, with a large and veteran army, rendered themselves masters of Greece, Macedon, and Syria, together with nearly all the Eastern dependencies of Rome, which they gained and held for the senate and people. But, seeing the intrigues which Octavius Cæsar was now making for arbitrary power, and the late decree of the senate he had obtained against the destroyers of J. Cæsar, they resolved on war. By appointment, they met at Sardis, in Lydia, with their respective forces. Previous to this, some disputes had arisen between these two chieftains of the constitution. On this meeting, they retired to a private apartment to settle their respective differences, giving directions to their servants that they were not to be disturbed. Both being proud, stern, and irascible, mutual complaints and re-

criminations ensued between them : at length, from an excess of feeling, and the excitement of the moment, they burst into tears. This misunderstanding was healed by the interposition of a mutual friend, who broke into the apartment, fearing some fatal issue.

Previous to leaving Asia, it is said that, one night, as Brutus sat reading in his tent, at the third* watch, after being much fatigued by the necessary preparations for the war, a figure of gigantic size stood before him. Brutus, looking sternly at the figure, asked—"Art thou a god or man, and what is thy business with me?" The figure answered: "I am thy evil genius, Brutus! Thou wilt meet me at Philippi." Brutus replied: "I'll meet thee there." Early next morning, he communicated this circumstance to Cassius, who, as an Epicurean, slighted the idea of the existence of such supernatural beings as spectres, and, to keep such thoughts from affecting the tranquillity of his friend, used the argument of his sect upon the subject:—"The mind is perpetually in motion; that motion is imagination, or thought. When the mind, as in your case, my Brutus, is overwrought by labour, the excess of labour disorganizes the natural functions of the mind, which then yields to phantasies and visions, and which, my Brutus, have been disturbing you."

In the mean time, Octavius and Antony had been marching in their track. The republican army immediately returned from Lydia to Macedonia, where, B.C. 42, they came up with the forces of the triumvirs, near the city of Philippi. Cassius, whether from his idea of good generalship or a dejection of spirits, was unwilling to trust the fate of his cause to a single battle, knowing that his army was better provisioned, and far more abundantly supplied with money, than that of the triumvirate—that money was the chief excitement of a licentious soldiery, of which they had much at their command, while the fleet of the republic was very considerable; but in this opinion he was fatally over-ruled by Brutus and other general officers.

* The Romans had four watches, of three hours each; the first commenced at 6, P.M.

The morning of the day of this memorable fight, the scarlet robe, which was the signal of battle, was seen floating from the tents of Brutus and Cassius, and the destinies of Rome were now to be decided by the unnatural contentions of her own sons. Brutus desired to take charge of the right wing—a part which was considered more suitable to Cassius on account of his greater experience; but the latter at once yielded to the wishes of his friend, and at the same time generously parted with Messala and some of his best legions, which he placed under the command of Brutus. The generals of either party made every exertion to encourage their troops, and lost no opportunity that could serve their cause. The soldiers of Brutus, without waiting for the word of command, rushed precipitately upon the left wing of Agrippa, who had taken the place of Octavius Caesar, confined to his bed by real or affected indisposition. The main body of the army of Brutus made dreadful carnage among the enemy, and got so far as their camp, which they plundered and destroyed; but the left wing, commanded by Cassius, had been thrown into disorder by the impetuosity of their right wing, and were ignorant of the success of their fellow-soldiers under Brutus. Thus circumstanced, Cassius was surrounded by the enemy, when his cavalry fled; his infantry also gave way, and he was himself obliged to retire with a small detachment to a neighbouring hill that overlooked the plain; from thence he saw nothing but his own plundered camp. Fearing that the fate of Brutus was similar of his own, he sent Titinius, one of his officers, to know the certainty, and ease his fears. Brutus, in the interim, learning the discomfiture of his friend, despatched a body of cavalry to his relief, which Cassius, seeing approach, unfortunately mistook for the triumphant soldiers of Antony, sent for his destruction:—instantly he resolved to die rather than become the captive of a tyrant. Retiring into an empty tent, and folding up his face in his robe, he there induced his freedman, Pindarus, to slay him. Titinius, whom Cassius had sent to reconnoitre those erroneously taken for the soldiers

of Antony, now returned, as the herald of good tidings which he anticipated he bore to his disconsolate general; but he returned too late. That proud, swelling heart was now cold and still:—neither the shame of flight, nor the shout of triumph, disturbed it more! Titinius, on beholding the dead body of Cassius, plunged a dagger into his heart, and fell a lifeless corpse beside the chief whom he loved, and whom he refused to survive. Brutus, on entering the tent of Cassius, wept like a child over the dead body of his friend,—gave him honourable sepulture, and pronounced him the greatest and LAST OF THE ROMANS.

There is little doubt that the army of the republic would, in this contest, have been victorious, were it not for the error which its two chiefs laboured under with regard to the fate of the other, and the confusion which the soldiers under Brutus had caused by rushing into the camp of Cæsar for plunder, instead of first exterminating the enemy. The loss sustained by the republican party was about eight thousand men, while that of Octavius was at least double that number.

SECOND BATTLE AT PHILIPPI.

Confusion and error seem to have marked the councils of the friends of the constitution, while the affairs of Antony and Octavius were in every respect most unpropitious. The forces of the triumvirs were badly encamped and worse provisioned. On the day the first battle was fought, the fleet of Brutus had gained, in the Ionian sea, a complete victory over that of the enemy; of which had Brutus been aware, he would have declined another pitched battle, as he could have compelled the triumvirs to retreat without striking a blow; but they pressed him on to another encounter, before he should be informed of the great advantage he had already gained at sea. In twenty days after the first battle at Philippi, a second was fought by the same parties and in the same locality. But the troops of Brutus appear to have lost their courage; and he having reason to fear their fidelity, and dreading their

desertion, promptly gave orders for battle, when he drove the left wing of the enemy before him; but his own left wing, unfortunately, by an injudicious movement, was on the first attack put to flight; the triumvirs now endeavoured to surround him, when, after displaying the greatest courage and ability, he was obliged to fly. A son of Cato perished on the field of battle, who to the last proclaimed his lineage, and that he fought for the liberties of Rome. Brutus, seeing that all was now lost, and having in vain entreated his servant to slay him, fell upon his sword.* Antony treated his remains with a respectful humanity, and sent his ashes to his mother, Servilia. The party of the commonwealth was now completely broken, many of whom fled to Sicily, where Sextus Pompey still continued to resist the powers of the triumvirate, but who, after a few years of piratical warfare, was subdued, and himself slain by Titius, the lieutenant of Antony.

BRUTUS AND CASSIUS COMPARED.

Thus fell Brutus and Cassius, the two great chieftains of this formidable conspiracy. To form a relative opinion of their respective merits, perhaps were a difficult task, although the popular opinion inclines favourably towards the former. Cassius was a devoted enthusiast for the liberties of Rome—so was Brutus:—both were alike brave. Cassius is charged with exacting levies of both men and money with too much severity, in the different countries through which he passed, after he had raised the standard of resistance against the triumvirate; but this, it must be remembered, was

* It is sometimes asserted that Portia, the wife of Brutus, on learning his fate, died by swallowing fire;—this is a mere fable. She died before Brutus himself, of some lingering disease. In the time of Plutarch, there was a letter extant from Brutus, speaking of her death. That letter is not now in existence; but the epistle of condolence from Cicero to Brutus, (Ad Brut., 17,) cannot, from its internal evidence, be applied to any other circumstance than the death of this lady.—See also Ad Brut., 2.

an act of necessity, and upon which levies he conceived that the existence of the freedom of his country depended;—besides, this is a practice so common among all generals under similar circumstances, that, although the moralist may censure it, the statesman will not.

The fame of Brutus is more seriously compromised. While he affected to be a philosopher, above the passions for wealth or power, we find him, and that without any public necessity, exacting an enormous and usurious interest for money which he lent to Ariobarzanes, the plundered king of Cappadocia.* We also find that he lent on bond, at an enormous interest, twenty thousand pounds sterling, to the people of Salamis in Cyprus;—that Scaptius, one of his creatures, and to whom he pretended the debt was due, was made præfect of Cyprus by Appius Claudius, *then* father-in-law of Brutus, and pro-consul of Cilicia. The appointment of Scaptius was made for the sole purpose of harassing the bankrupt people of Salamis until the interest should be paid. Scaptius appears to have been well chosen for his office, as he actually shut up the entire senate of Salamis in their assembly room until five of them were starved to death.†

The unhappy people offered to discharge the bond at one per cent. per month, in accordance with the humane regulation of Cicero, then pro-consul of Cilicia, of which province Cyprus was a part; but Scaptius refused the offer, unless the original interest at four per cent. per month was paid. Brutus, finding that he could not exact his demand from the poor Salaminians, wrote to Cicero, and that, at least, in an ungracious manner, requesting of him to exercise his authority and enforce the payment of his bond; to influence him the more, Brutus acknowledged that he had been playing a double game all the while;—that the debt was really his own, and that he merely used the name of Scaptius, the better to avoid detection in such low and grasping avarice. Thus we find the much lauded

* Ad Att., 6, 1.

† —quibus inclusum in curia senatum Salamine, obœderat, ut fame senatores quinque morerentur.—*Ibid.*

Brutus an oppressive usurer, adopting a mean course of falsehood to sustain an iniquitous demand. The part which Cicero acted throughout this transaction was worthy of his high fame and true nobility. Although he greatly admired Brutus for his political sympathies, and did not at all wish to quarrel with him; yet he dismissed Scaptius from the præfecture of Cyprus;—would give office to no person, under his pro-consulate, who was an agent for the Roman nobility in their usurious dealings with the plundered provinces; nor would he allow more than one per cent. per month, to be paid on any such contracts.

Nor was Brutus, in his more domestic affairs, quite free from reproach.—He repudiated his wife Claudia—a lady of most irreproachable character—that he might marry Portia, the widow of Bibulus, merely because Portia was the daughter of his uncle Cato,—an act that favours not more of grossness than injustice; and while it shows the very low standard of morality that must then have prevailed in Rome, it equally proclaims that the ethics of Brutus were not above the age in which he lived.* Indeed, even then he was much censured for that marriage: being such as might have been expected from the libertine Antony, but not from the philosophic Brutus. From his love of study and literary acquirements, it is very probable that in times more tranquil he would have distinguished himself either in the senate or the closet; but for war he appears to have had no predilection. Unfitted by a capacious temper, and too much exalted in his own esteem, he committed several errors that were fatal to the success of his cause.

On the other hand, Cassius, judging from his brilliant career in the Parthian war, his habitual energy and sternness of character would seem to have been better

* Ad Att., 13, 9.—Plutarch says, the only circumstance in the life of M. Brutus that is inexcusable, was his promising to give up the cities of Sparta and Thessalonica to his army for plunder. Surely this writer could not have been ignorant of the private history of such a man as M. Brutus, nor the existence of the indisputable authorities we have mentioned!

suited than his colleagues, for the leadership of a great military enterprise, while he is free from several of the charges that stain the memory of Brutus.

A union of the triumvirs, cemented with the blood of their fellow-citizens, could not have been of long duration. The intrigues of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, angry at the absence of her husband, and jealous of the power of Octavius, created an insurrection amongst the peasantry of Etruria, who, in common with most of the agricultural population of Italy, had been dispossessed of their farms, to make room for the needy and mutinous soldiers of the triumvirs. The insurgents were headed by Lucius Antonius, the brother of her husband, who fixed his head quarters at Perusia. Thither Octavius immediately repaired, and invested that city with three armies which he had at his command:—it was soon reduced by famine. The unfortunate Perusians suffered bitterly for this senseless rebellion, in which they permitted themselves to be involved by the selfish intrigues of two worthless persons. Their city was plundered by a licentious soldiery,—four hundred noble Perusians were sent to Rome, and butchered in cold blood at the altar of Julius Cæsar, on the anniversary of his death.

Antony and Octavius Cæsar, from the period of the capture of Perusia, looked upon each other as open enemies. This animosity was soon manifested by an effort on the part of Antony and Domitius Ahenobarbus to besiege Brundisium, the chief point of communication between Italy and Greece. Octavius, who dreaded the numbers and activity of his enemies, sent an embassy to Brundisium, to negotiate a reconciliation with Antony. On this errand were sent the celebrated Caius Cilnius Maecenas, the patron of learning in the Augustan age; Asinius Pollio, the friend of Virgil; who, together with the poet, Horatius Flaccus, travelled in the train of the ambassadors. The treaty was successful, but short-lived. Antony repudiated Fulvia and married Octavia, the sister of Octavius; but this lady he soon neglected for Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. This princess was summoned before the tribunal of Antony, to answer the

charge of having favoured the Caesarean party. The wily queen promptly obeyed the command, and obtained such an ascendancy over Antony that he spent nearly four years in the luxurious capital of Egypt, where he expended vast sums of money in the most wanton extravagance.

In the year, B.C., 36, he marched against Phraates, king of the Parthians, but was compelled to retreat, with the loss of almost his whole army by that warlike people. Two years afterwards, he conquered Armenia, which he bestowed upon Cleopatra for her private revenue; and on his return to Alexandria, he degraded his character as a Roman, by submission to the most obnoxious customs of the east. Many of his friends at Rome were disgusted by his conduct, while Octavius was particularly incensed, or affected to be so, at the neglect of his sister, the wife of Antony, a lady who had followed her worthless husband to Greece. Cleopatra had for a considerable period been endeavouring to urge Antony to a war with Octavius. The sensual Roman hesitated to embark in so hazardous an enterprise, more especially as he was aware that his troops had lost much of their prowess and fidelity amid the pleasures of Alexandria. Octavius was anxious for a conflict, from which he augured would arise the absolute sovereignty of Rome; nor was he mistaken. All parties there, now seeing the disgraceful career of Antony, and dreading the influence which the profligate Cleopatra maintained over a man who still held so many legions of the empire under his command, became justly alarmed at such fearful consequences, when the senate formally declared war against him. Octavius, now in the third year of his consulship, was intrusted the management of this war. To his friend Agrippa he gave the command of his fleet, while he, with his characteristic energy, soon landed with his legions at Epirus, determined to come up with Antony as soon as possible. A few indecisive conflicts between the forces of these rivals for dominion prolonged the struggle for some months. At length it was finally decided by the memorable battle of Actium, a promontory upon the coast of Epirus.

The friends of Antony, doubting their prowess by sea, advised him to decide the controversy by land. Cleopatra was of a different opinion, and her besotted paramour ordered it accordingly. On the morning of 2nd September, B.C., 31, the two adverse fleets met. Cleopatra was present. For some time the fight was contested with equal chance of success to either party; but as it thickened, the queen, with a woman's fears, attended with sixty sail of her Egyptian fleet, took to flight, which the infatuated Antony perceiving, regardless of his chance of victory, which, up to that moment, was equal to that of his adversary, followed her, leaving his friends to decide the matter as they chose. His fleet, deprived of its admiral, continued a brave but hopeless resistance, when, perceiving their complete desertion, they surrendered to Octavius.

Antony retired to Egypt, where he was quickly pursued by the fleet and army of Octavius. Finding himself invested in Alexandria, and hearing a false account of the death of Cleopatra, he stabbed himself and expired in her arms, B.C., 30. His death was bewailed by Cleopatra, who had endeavoured to ply her ensnaring arts upon Octavius. The latter feigned great respect to the Egyptian queen; but Cleopatra, fearing that she would be reserved to grace the triumph of the conqueror, applied a viper to her breast. The messengers of Octavius found her expiring in her palace, together with two faithful maid servants, who were resolved not to survive their mistress.

Cicero had, in the fervour of parental affection, drawn up for the use of his son, Marcus, his celebrated book of Offices (*De Officiis*), a work that must always be considered as the most complete system of morality, by the mere effort of human reason; and, perhaps, the best possible code that has ever been devised, in the absence of a Divine revelation, for the promotion of the virtue and happiness of man. This young Marcus Cicero had been living privately in Rome, but whom Octavius, after these triumphs, took as his partner in the consulship, and to whom, as his colleague, he sent a detailed account of his victories at Actium and Alexandria, which young Cicero officially communicated to the senate, when that

body decreed, that all the statues and monuments of Antony should be destroyed, and that no member of his family should, from henceforth, bear the name of Marcus. This decree gave great pleasure to those who sympathized in the fate of the elder Cicero. Nor was their pleasure diminished, when they saw the execution of that decree intrusted to the son of the murdered orator.

History has not done full justice to the memory of Marcus Cicero, the younger, who is generally represented as a fool, alike devoid of ambition or understanding. Before we decide, it is right to view the conduct of this young man closely, while we make some allowances for the times in which he lived. At the early age of seventeen, he embraced the cause of Pompey; and, in the camp of the latter, distinguished himself by his military accomplishments, and undertaking with alacrity every labour pertaining to the duty of a soldier.* After the defeat of his friends at Pharsalia, his father sent him to Athens, there to study under the most eminent philosophers of that intellectual capital, where, it is true, he fell into the vice of drunkenness; but from which he soon emerged, and expressed his deep contrition in two amiable and excellent letters to Tiro,† the librarian of his father. Brutus was so taken with his abilities and virtue, that he intrusted him with a high command; and although but then twenty years of age, rendered himself eminent at the battle of Philippi for courage and consummate ability. After that fatal fight, he joined young Pompey in Sicily; nor did he abandon the cause of the republic, until he saw resistance no longer useful. Hence, as a public man, young Marcus Cicero could not have been the imbecile he is frequently represented. In private life, on the authority of Seneca, he was distinguished for the brilliancy of his wit and courtly bearing. It is equally true that, seeing the ruin of his father and his country, and having no sphere

* Offic., 2, 13.

† Ep. Fam., 16, 21.—Tiro was one of the slaves of Cicero, and by his excellent parts became an accomplished scholar. He wrote the life of Cicero, and some other pieces (now all lost). To his care are we chiefly indebted for the preservation and arrangement of the admirable letters of his master.

for his ambition, he too often indulged in the pleasures of the table. On the expiration of his consulship, Octavius made him pro-consul of Syria—honours which that wily statesman conferred on the son, the better, in all probability, to disguise his own atrocity to the father. After this appointment no more is heard of the younger Cicero, when all that was mortal of the illustrious *Father of his Country* passed away, and *for ever*.*

Octavius, having possessed himself of the treasures of Cleopatra, converted Egypt into a Roman province, and after visiting Samos and other countries, returned to Rome, B.C., 29.

We cannot conclude this most memorable portion of Roman history, without noticing the fate of two other chief actors of this great drama. C. Trebonius, on the death of Cæsar, retired to his government in Asia. He was suddenly surprised by P. C. Dolabella, in Smyrna, who put him to the torture, in order that he should confess where he had hidden his money; he next cut off his head, had his body dragged through the streets, and then cast into the sea.

Decimus Brutus, (his army having abandoned him, and joined that of Antony,) wandered about in disguise, hoping to reach his relative, M. Brutus, in Macedonia; but some of the soldiers of Antony, having discovered him, immediately put him to death, and sent his head as a grateful compliment to that miscreant.

Thus ended the Civil War, after a period of twenty-one years, under various chiefs and pretensions; and thus, after a lapse of five hundred years, the constitution of Rome was once more changed, from a republic, to a monarchical form of government.

* Cicero had two children, young Marcus and his loving and dutiful daughter, Tullia, the most accomplished woman of her time:—she died three years before her father. To relieve his sorrow on this occasion, which was intense, he wrote his essay on *consolation*, (of which the few extracts found in Lactantius only are genuine.) His wife, Terentia, lived to the age of 103. She married three husbands after Cicero:—the second, according to St. Jerome, was Sallust the historian, and enemy of Cicero.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Augustus Cæsar.—Virgil—his writings.—Horace—his writings.—Birth of Christ.—Augustus dies.—Literature during this reign.

The fall of the republic was not attended with those disastrous consequences which were feared and foretold, alike by the friends and foes of Rome. The success of Octavius, over Antony and Cleopatra, caused universal rejoicings in the capital, where the people, wearied of protracted warfare, sighed for repose, if not liberty. Octavius assumed power with extreme caution; and although well aware that the entire state regarded him as its monarch, he still pretended to consider himself as no more than any private individual whom the commonwealth had honoured with its confidence, and the management of its public affairs.

On the other hand, the senate vied with the populace in servile adulation of the victor, whose authority they had no means of opposing, and of whose resentment they had seen so terrible an example in the massacre of the unfortunate inhabitants of Perusia. He was honoured with a triple triumph over Dalmatia, Actium, and Alexandria; in the year, B.C., 27, the title of Augustus was bestowed on him at the suggestion of L. Munatius Plancus: divine honours were decreed him; in addition to these, he was appointed for ten years to the office of imperator, or commander-in-chief of all the Roman armies; a title since modified into that of emperor.

On the death of Lepidus, B.C., 12, he became Pontifex Maximus;—this gave him unlimited power over the sacerdotal colleges, and vastly extended his influence. The tribunate was likewise conferred on him for life—an office that made him at once an absolute monarch, without that dangerous title: he could now call or prorogue the senate; there propose whatever measures he pleased, or revoke any of their decrees:—to him lay an appeal from all the courts of justice,

while he could restrain the proceedings of all other magistrates, civil or military. To complete this vast range of power, his person as tribune was held sacred and inviolable. But although thus armed with unlimited authority, he disguised it as much as possible from the scrutinizing gaze of patriot zeal, or jealous rivalry. Those various offices with which he was now vested, he filled with his own private friends, who merely proposed to the senate or people whatever acts or regulations he himself suggested. Thus, though senate, consuls, and prætors passed before the public eye with all the solemnity of law and freedom, they were no more than the *manes* of departed power and former greatness. Still, the Romans, pleased with their nominal republic, rejoiced in the solid advantages of peace, under the tranquil usurpation of Augustus.

This vast power, it was said, he merely desired the better to enable him to carry out such amendments in the laws as would restore permanent peace to a torn and distracted nation. His chief assistants and advisers in those reforms were, Caius Cilnius Mæcenas, a Roman knight, descended from the ancient kings of Etruria, and whose patronage of literary men has earned for him an honourable and enduring celebrity; M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Asinius Pollio, and some others of less notoriety. The former had distinguished himself in the cause of Augustus, at the battles of Actium and Philippi, and to whose wisdom and moderation the emperor was long indebted. Asinius Pollio was a man of fine literary taste:—a poet and an orator, to whom belongs the merit of having founded the first public library in Rome. These were all men of moderate views and high private character, and to their prudent counsels may be attributed much of the success of Augustus, while they often restrained his cruel tendencies. Mæcenas became his chief minister of state, whose consummate abilities, united with courtly manners and refined tastes, procured for him the flattering fellowship of Augustus and the respect of his fellow-citizens.

The reforms introduced by Augustus and his ministers into the Roman constitution were numerous and

most important, tending chiefly to abolish those mischievous enactments, which the unscrupulous selfishness of former political leaders had introduced for the purpose of their own aggrandizement. The army, consisting of nearly 500,000 regular troops, was distributed throughout the provinces, and large bodies of military were concentrated in the principal sea-coast towns of Italy. An improved system of administering justice was also introduced, and means taken to suppress the disgraceful system of bribery which had pervaded the legislature during the latter years of the commonwealth. The city was protected for the first time by a nightly police. To restrain the then almost universal crime of adultery, besides a law which imposed serious penalties upon the perpetration of this crime, he carried another law by which matrimony was encouraged, and a premium to all those Roman citizens who had three children (*jus trium liberorum*); but such was his profound address, that, however popular this last statute really was, he declined taking any personal merit for its introduction, but caused it to pass, as in the days of the republic, under the names of those consuls who were in office in the year of its enactment. Augustus was a great admirer of commerce,—a branch of industry to which the Romans were at all times comparative strangers. He considerably limited the barbarous gladiatorial exhibitions, the opprobrium of the Roman name, and decreed that they should not be presented oftener than twice within the same year; nor with more of those unhappy victims to brutality than one hundred and twenty at a time! A limitation that shocks the ears of our humanity, and causes us to shudder at the thought of what those savage scenes must have been in their unrestrained atrocity. By these and similar enactments, a considerable degree of improvement was effected in the habits and morality of the people, although their results were speedily neutralized by the profligacy of the succeeding emperors of Rome.

Notwithstanding these acts of usefulness, such as were likely to ensure popularity, no less than four conspiracies

had been from time to time formed against his life: proclaiming that the old spirit of republicanism was yet alive and had many votaries. However, the vigilance of Augustus prevailed: the three first conspiracies were quietly suppressed, and their authors punished. These plots told the cautious Augustus that, notwithstanding the sanctity of his person, as pronounced by an imbecile senate, he deemed there was more security in a body-guard of 10,000 men which he raised for his own personal security, while he wore a breast-plate of armour under his inner robe, to protect his life against such poignards under which his great uncle perished. These appear to have been the last of those contemplated revolutions against the emperor. Men saw that the glories of the republic, like every thing else human, had its limit, and expired—that it was better for the nation, whose course had been run, to conform to a dynasty it could not control, than barter real peace for the horrors of civil war and uncertain liberty.

In the year, B.C., 27, Augustus sent his legate, M. Crassus, to conduct a campaign against the Dacians—a fierce people, inhabiting that part of Ancient Germany lying between the Carpathian mountains and the Danube, (part of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, and Moldavia). This formidable nation revolted against the Roman yoke, and had large armies on the banks of the Danube. The Romans made several essays to reduce them to their sway, in which they gained neither power nor fame. Augustus himself proceeded into Gaul, and afterwards to Spain, where he reduced many of the most formidable tribes, and founded several colonies, amongst the most important of which was the town of *Cæsar Augusta* (Saragossa). On his return to Rome, B.C., 24, he was greeted with unbounded adulation, and the honour of his subjects was elated by a circumstance which implied, not the submission of the Parthians, as the Romans would infer, but the sacrifice of national pride to parental feeling.—A son of Phraates, king of Parthia, having fallen into the hands of Augustus, his father applied to have him set at liberty, to which the emperor promised to consent on condition

that the standards taken by the Parthians from the army of Crassus—more than thirty years before—should be restored. These terms were complied with, to the great joy of the entire Roman nation. The restored standards were hung in the temple of Mars, and Augustus caused medals to be struck to commemorate the event. This triumph was saddened by the death of the poet Virgil, who expired at Naples in the year, B.C., 19.

This extraordinary man was born at Andes, a little village in the vicinity of Mantua, B.C., 70. His early years were spent during those terrible civil dissensions that proved fatal to the commonwealth. During the second triumvirate, a small property which the poet held, in the neighbourhood of Cremona, was confiscated and allotted to a soldier of the prevailing faction. Virgil, who was then very young, narrowly escaped with his life from the ferocity of this individual; but by a judicious statement of his grievances to Augustus, he obtained the restitution of his farm, and the earliest specimen of his muse was in celebration of his good fortune, and the clemency of Augustus. From this period he became a devoted adherent to the cause of the triumvir, and gained the particular friendship of Mæcenas and Asinius Pollio.

The tumult of the civil wars having subsided, Augustus, aware of the talents of Virgil, who had composed a number of elegant pastorals in imitation of Theocritus, desired him to write a poem on husbandry, containing, in a descriptive poem, the precepts of that art, and exhorting the peasants of Italy to return to those occupations which they had neglected during the fury of the civil wars. Virgil complied with the imperial request, and within a period of four, or as some say, seven years, completed a poem in four books, which he entitled *Georgica*, from two Greek words signifying the cultivation of the soil. This beautiful poem, which he composed principally upon the model of Hesiod's *Works and Days*, and the descriptive poetry of Nicander, Aratus, and Demetrius, is full of dignity and simplicity, mingled with most splendid descriptions

of physical phenomena and profound philosophical observations.

The first book is devoted to the tillage of the soil, the labours and instruments of husbandry, and all those precepts relative to the weather and the seasons that formed the wisdom of his day. The second Georgic treats of trees—their nature, uses, and the best methods for their cultivation, particularly of the vine and olive, in whose praises he becomes enthusiastic; extolling the teeming soil and delightful atmosphere of Italy, and concluding with a beautiful description of the serene repose of country life. The third Georgic opens with a magnificent exordium, describing the poet's thirst for fame, his passionate love of country, and his desire to celebrate in verse the triumphs of his imperial patron. He next proceeds to unfold the modes of breeding cattle, particularly the horse and ox; the merits and peculiarities of these useful animals, and concludes by a vivid description of a frightful plague which broke out amongst the cattle in the northern districts of Italy. The fourth and last Georgic is devoted to the history and management of bees.

His next and last poetical work was the *Æneis*, an epic poem in twelve books, on the wanderings of *Æneas*, and his settlement in Italy;—a truly magnificent work, which has excited the admiration of the world for eighteen centuries, and perhaps ranks next to the immortal lays of Homer. Virgil did not live to complete it as he desired, and his last injunctions to his friends were to commit the imperfect poem to the flames.—With this request they fortunately did not comply, and thus saved for the world the remains of one of the greatest masters of poetry.

P. Q. VARUS.

The Roman arms now, B.C., 9, experienced a terrible reverse in Germany. The governor of that province, P. Quintilius Varus, had conducted himself with great cruelty and rapacity, and had particularly incurred the dislike of the Cherusicans, a powerful tribe, inhabiting

the district in the neighbourhood of the Elbe and the Weser. Arminius, a young German noble, who had been educated at Rome, employed himself strenuously in endeavouring to rouse his countrymen to revolt. He was at that period in command of a large body of auxiliary forces in the Roman army; and a sudden insurrection having broken out in a remote part of Germany, Arminius prevailed on Varus to march against the insurgents. The revolt having become general, Varus, who at first despised the tumultuous hordes of barbarians, was obliged, with a large portion of his army, to retreat, when he was suddenly assailed by Arminius, supported by an innumerable host of Germans. The path of the Romans lay through dense forests filled with frightful swamps, where they found that their antagonists had fearful odds against them. For two days they continued their disastrous retreat, still making a desperate resistance, while crowds of their bravest soldiers perished in the morass, or were mowed down by the weapons of their assailants.

On the third day the Germans made their final assault, which ended in the complete annihilation of the Roman army. Varus perished by his own hand, and the long series of conquests during forty years were thus rendered unavailing. The intelligence of this defeat, when communicated to Augustus, almost cost him his life, and frequently, as if seized with a fit of delirium, he would cry out,—“Quintilius Varus, restore me my legions!”

To wipe out this stain upon Roman prowess, Tiberius, (afterwards emperor,) and Drusus his nephew, marched to the German frontier, in order to punish the triumphant barbarians; but these generals prudently did not venture among the wild forests of that inhospitable region, and contented themselves with merely establishing military positions to protect the left bank of the Rhine, and guard the empire from further shame and aggression.

This severe reverse, with many domestic troubles, preyed deeply on the mind of Augustus; poisoned his repose, and stained his honour. His nephew, young

Marcus Marcellus,* a youth of great hopes, and whom he intended to have made his heir, died suddenly, to the deep regret of the entire nation. The two grandsons of Augustus, Caius and Lucius Cæsar, children of his daughter Julia, and his friend Agrippa, also died suddenly, by the intrigues, it was suspected, of the empress Livia, to make room for her own son Tiberius. While the unrestrained profligacy of his daughter Julia, although she had been the wife of three husbands, was so gross, that the unhappy father, in despite of all his pomp of power, was compelled to proclaim his own disgrace, and exile his infamous child to a bleak and desolate shore,—the little island of Pandataria (Santa Maria), in the Tuscan sea, where she miserably perished.

Augustus experienced another heavy blow in the decease of his loyal friend and wise councillor, Mæcenas, who expired in the year, B.C., 8, after a long and painful illness. He had suffered during the last few years of his life from a continued hectic fever, which gradually wore out his existence by depriving him of sleep. The friendship of Augustus towards Mæcenas had been declining for some years previously, but at the approach of death this unworthy coldness was removed. Mæcenas died, intrusting to the special care of Augustus the poet Horace, of whom he had been the warm friend and patron. Horace survived him but three weeks, to the great grief of the emperor and of Rome.

This exquisite poet was born at Venusia, in Apulia, B.C., 63, and served in an honourable post under the banners of M. Brutus; he was present at the battle of

* This was the Marcellus to whose memory Virgil (*Æn.* VI.) makes that beautiful apostrophe. "Tu Marcellus eris," and which has been so finely translated by Dryden:—

———The blissful vision of a day,
Shall just be shown on earth, and snatched away.

No youth shall equal hopes of glory give:
No youth afford so great a cause to grieve.
The Trojan honour and the Roman boast;
Admir'd when living, and ador'd when lost!

Philippi, and often humorously alludes, in his works, to his precipitate retreat from that disastrous conflict, where, as he says, "valour's self was overcome." On the total defeat of the republican party, Horace was left in very needy circumstances; but his wit and learning soon procured him admission to the literary circles of Rome, and gained for him the patronage of Mæcenas, who introduced him to the emperor.

The bounty of the minister soon placed the poet beyond want, and he accordingly gave full scope to his poetical talents. Five books of lyric poetry, two of satires, and two of epistles, include all his compositions: these have fortunately been spared from the ravages of time. His lyric poetry is graceful, sprightly, and often exceedingly beautiful; containing many maxims with regard to the enjoyment of life; and rendering to his noble patrons the meed of praise which they well deserved for their literary taste and discernment. These poems were composed by Horace at various periods of his life, as well as his satires, in which, with exquisite humour, he ridicules the prevailing vices of his day, and draws many valuable sketches of the state of Rome during the Augustan age. His epistles are quaint, witty, and amusing; but the last three are invaluable, as containing some most excellent principles of criticism. His last epistle, dedicated to the Pisos, has been called the *Art of Poetry*, on account of the precepts which it contains concerning metrical, and more especially dramatic writing. This epistle has been since often imitated, more especially by Boileau and Pope: the latter, in his *Essay on Criticism*. Horace seems to have preferred his lyrical to his satiric compositions, and presaged for himself the immortality which he has obtained.

BIRTH OF CHRIST.

Five years after this period OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST was born in a stable, at Bethlehem, in Judea, fulfilling to the letter the ancient prophecies with regard to the coming of the Messiah. These prophecies, in some ob-

score form, were not unknown to the Romans, and Virgil had composed an eclogue, or pastoral, relating to the approaching birth of some wondrous infant, whose presence should free the world from crime and sorrow, and by whom the golden age was to be restored. All the Roman empire was then at peace, and the gates of Janus were closed. From this, the most memorable period in the history of the world, we date the conclusion of the old world, and the commencement of that faith which triumphed over the haughty despots of the heathen world, and emancipated mankind from the darkest slavery.

Augustus was now much advanced in life, and grew daily less able to take that active part in the administration of affairs to which he had been accustomed. He requested of the senate, that, as he was now becoming infirm, and often not able to attend their meetings, they would allow him a committee of twenty-five councillors, whose acts, sanctioned by him, should have the authority of laws. The senate acceded to his request; but it was regulated that the concurrence of the consuls should be obtained for all such enactments.

In the year, A. D., 14, he held a general census of the Roman people, in which they amounted to 4,134,000: this calculation must have extended to those Italian colonies that retained their rights of being citizens of Rome. Feeling his end approaching, Augustus made his will, and delivered it to the keeping of the vestal virgins. In the summer of that year he proceeded with Tiberius, who was marching to Illyria, as far as Beneventum, from whence Augustus returned to Nola, where he became dangerously ill, and, after lingering for a short time, calling his attendants round his bed, asked them how had he acted his part in the drama of his past life: all replied with sentiments of praise and lamentation. "Well then," said the dying emperor, in the terms peculiar to the Roman stage, when an actor was about to leave, "farewell, and give me your applause," (*vos valetis et plaudite.*) Augustus died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, after the long reign of fifty-seven years. At the adolescent age of nineteen he threw himself amid the dreadful contentions with which the republic was

shaken, and which evoked the greatest spirits of the times. In three years afterwards he conquered Cassius, Brutus, M. Antony, S. Pompey, superseded M. Lepidus, and, in a period comparatively short, was sole master of the Roman world. The distinctive feature of the mind of Augustus was cunning, and availing himself, with great address, of every circumstance that could contribute to his own advantage, while his natural good sense led him to act under the wisdom of superior minds. His person was said to have been handsome; though, affecting a simplicity of manners, he was ambitious to be thought the son of Apollo, which his mother had unblushingly proclaimed him. Being a perfect master of the Greek language, and composer of some dramas, he was naturally attached to literature, of which he was a generous patron. Although his last moments were marked with a Pagan levity, it must be owned that he was an able and skilful actor; for never did it fall to the lot of a statesman to pass so successfully through such perilous storms, or to construct such a secure and lasting throne from the crumbling ruins of the commonwealth. His reign was indeed the golden age of Rome: standing forth on the one side from the rude virtues and tempestuous politics of the republic; on the other, from the dark vices and iron rule of his successors. Still, the moral character of Augustus was of no very high order, but his talents and cunning prevented it from being often seen in its true light. During the triumvirate his career was one of unmitigated ferocity; and his cowardly abandonment of Cicero to the revenge of Antony, shows him to have been divested of all real sentiments of honour, gratitude, or humanity. Although his crimes and failings were not unknown to his subjects, he was ever regarded by them with sentiments of deep affection.

This age was the climax of Roman elegance and refinement. Amongst the literary characters who flourished during this reign, besides Virgil and Horace, Tibullus, Catullus, and Propertius were likewise celebrated for their lyric poetry; Ovid, for his elegies; and Livy, for a history of Rome, in one hundred and fifty books, of which unfortunately more than two

thirds have perished. Crispus Sallust, an orator and historian, composed two elegant sketches; one, of Catiline's conspiracy; and the other, of the Jugurthan war: which are still extant, and much esteemed for conciseness and accuracy.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Tiberius.—Death of Christ.

On the death of Augustus, Tiberius, then in his fifty-sixth year, soon laid before the senate the will of the former. It contained many directions respecting the disposal of his property; but made no observations as to whom should be his successor. Four other documents in the hand-writing of Augustus were also produced, in two of which he described, with great accuracy, the statistics of the empire, as well as those principles of government which he desired to be followed in reference to Rome. He ordered 400,000 *sestertia* to be distributed amongst the people, besides countless sums amongst the soldiers of his army. The senate, at the public expense, decreed to his remains a magnificent funeral; and, the better to commemorate his virtues, temples were consecrated in his name, and the Roman matrons mourned for him as for a parent, during one entire year.

The eyes of all were now turned on Tiberius, whom the favour of the late emperor had marked out during the last years of his life as his successor. Tiberius hesitated to press the senate upon so delicate a subject; but that body, assuming that he was the candidate for the empire, pressed him to explain in what capacity he desired to obtain the government. With well-affected modesty, Tiberius declared that he had no wishes for the chair of empire, and, with the greatest humility, declared his own incompetency to supply the place of his illustrious relative. A servile panegyric on the virtues of Tiberius, and a petition that he would deign to accept the emperorship, was the reply which a fallen senate offered, and which with joy Tiberius received.

A few senators having ventured, in a strain of covered sarcasm, to reprove his hypocrisy, his jealousy and hatred was aroused, but after much persuasion he was appeased, and induced to accept the government of the Roman world.

A.D., 14.—The first act of the new emperor on his accession to the throne of Augustus, was to procure the assassination of Agrippa Postumus, the son of Julia, being the grandson of the late emperor, and whose claims to empire he feared were more equitable than his own. This murder, which Livia is suspected of instigating, was readily excused to the servile and unscrupulous senate, who pretended to regard it as a proof of the rigorous justice of their new ruler. Tiberius for a time endeavoured to support that character for lenity which he desired to assume. All his edicts breathed clemency and moderation. He refused the divine honours which the officious flattery of his courtiers offered him, and pardoned several persons who had been detected in seditious conversations against his government. Many laws were introduced to check the profligacy and extravagance of the times, and Tiberius pretended to submit in all things to the advice of the senate.

GERMANICUS.

A formidable mutiny among the legions in Pannonia soon broke out, which caused Tiberius to cast off his mask of moderation. All discipline among the disaffected troops was at an end; the ferocious soldiery deliberately assassinated their centurions and inferior officers in the very sight of their generals. Intelligence of these disasters was communicated to Germanicus, then commander-in-chief of the legions on the Rhine, and that distinguished general immediately proceeded to the scene of the insurrection.

Germanicus was the son of Drusus, by Antonia, the niece of Augustus, and had been adopted by Tiberius as his son. He was a wise and virtuous prince, who detested the cruelties and profligacy of his relatives, and was extremely popular with the army. On his arrival

at the insurgent camp, he was received with a storm of acclamation ; thousands of the soldiers rushed round him, displaying the scars which they had received, and demanding whether their scanty and ill-paid stipend was sufficient for such services to the state. Germanicus hushed their clamours, and applied himself to the investigation of their demands. He endeavoured to recall to their minds the necessity of stringent military discipline, and lamented their present disorganized state. His remonstrances were unavailing. The soldiers declared their weariness of unrequited labours, and called on Germanicus to assume the imperial purple, assuring him that they would support his authority with their life-blood.

The prince, struck with horror at this proposition, leaped from his tribunal ; drew his sword, and declared that he would plunge it into his breast sooner than submit to such dishonour. He retired to his tent, where, having summoned his generals, he took council with them as to what should be done in this formidable crisis. It was agreed that letters should be framed, in the name of Tiberius, conceding all the demands made by the soldiers, and promising the immediate payment of the legacies bequeathed to them by Augustus. The soldiers required that the last-mentioned promise should be at once fulfilled, which Germanicus was accordingly obliged to do from his own private finances, and with the assistance of his friends. The troops now consented to retire into winter quarters, but the arrival of some deputies from Rome, on matters not at all connected with these transactions, caused the revival of the mutiny in all its horrors.

The soldiers, thinking that these messengers had come for the purpose of rescinding all the concessions of Tiberius, in the dead of night burst into the head quarters of Germanicus, dragged him from his bed, and charged him with the design of violating his late engagements. Next morning Germanicus entered the camp, and having called the mutineers before him, he so successfully remonstrated with them for their gross violation of order and discipline, that they at once

acknowledged their misconduct, and unfounded suspicions ; and the better to atone for their breach of duty, resigned their ringleaders into the hands of the prince, who, having accepted their atonement, inflicted rigorous punishment upon the promoters of this insubordination.

Tiberius heard with alarm that the soldiers had proposed to confer the purple upon his adopted son. It was his present policy to praise the loyalty and reward the attachment of Germanicus ; but he felt, with bitterness, that the tide of popular favour was not with him, and that the integrity of the son of Drusus was the sole safeguard of his reign.

Germanicus resolved that his soldiers should no longer remain in idleness to nourish the seeds of mutiny, and prepared to lead them against the Germans, now strong by union, and who had already formed a powerful confederacy against the Roman yoke. In these views he was assisted by Coccina, who had contrived to massacre all the leaders of the late revolt, and was now able to embark in any enterprise. Their most formidable adversary was Arminius, the German leader, whose success against Quintilius Varus has been already noticed. This indefatigable chieftain still continued to rouse his countrymen against the arms of Rome, and the prestige of his name brought thousands of that warlike nation to his standard.

The Germans, having fortified many strong positions, awaited the approach of the Romans ; but the fate of Varus was continually before the eyes of the latter, and they conducted their march with the greatest caution. On arriving at the vast forest of Teutoburgium they encountered a spectacle which filled them with horror. Their route lay through a dark and treacherous swamp, the surface of which was strewn on all sides with human skeletons, and armour which the soldiers readily recognised as belonging to their countrymen. Upon this very spot, six years before, the unfortunate Q. Varus perished with his soldiers. Some, who had escaped from that disastrous scene, recalled it in all its horrors to the imagination of their comrades. Germanicus halted on

this ill-omened spot; and, in order to lull the superstitious terrors of his soldiers, ordered funeral obsequies to be paid to the shades of his unhappy countrymen, and their mouldering remains to be committed to the earth. A pile of sods was erected over the grave; and tradition still points to the spot where Varus and his legions perished, and where the untamed German asserted his independence.

The perfect acquaintance which the Germans naturally had of their own country, and of which the Romans necessarily were ignorant, counterbalanced the rudeness of their military tactics, and the superior discipline of their adversaries. In several skirmishes, during the march, the Roman outposts were driven in confusion back upon the main body, where the prudence and energy of Germanicus alone saved them from total defeat. The wily Arminius often pretended to fly, in order that he might cause parties to be detached in pursuit of him, and thus break the consolidated ranks of the legions.

The two armies of Cœcina and Germanicus had proceeded for a considerable time in company, when, having arrived at the banks of the Arnisia (Ems), Cœcina quickened his route, in order to reach two bridges erected over that river, before they should be seized and defended by the barbarians. Arminius, suspecting the object of his adversary, led the main body of his army by forced marches into the woods, where he succeeded in concealing his forces from the observation of the Romans, who little thought, that these silent and savage thickets were instinct with life, and the fury of their restless adversaries.

Cœcina, on arriving at the bridges, was deeply mortified at finding them impassable, and that his army should encamp in the forest until those bridges were sufficiently repaired. He fortified his camp with care, but was almost immediately set upon by thousands of the Germans. The Romans were obliged to maintain their position amid a hideous swamp; after a dreadful struggle, which threatened to end in their destruction, the enemy retired, but employed the night in cutting

a deep channel to a vast body of water in the neighbourhood; the channel having been completed, the water flowed with rapidity, and swept before it the entrenchments of the Roman camp. Cœcina immediately ordered his soldiers to advance at all hazards, and occupy a new position, more elevated than the former. Here, worn out with fatigue and despondency, the Romans awaited the onset of the Germans; and Cœcina, in his dreams of terror, beheld the grim spectre of Q. Varus rising from the fens, and beckoning him to follow. The assault of the Germans was furious and protracted. Many of the Roman soldiers rushed from their ranks in defiance of their orders, to reach the solid ground; the standards were deserted, and Cœcina believed that his last hour was at hand.

Arminius, perceiving the confusion of the Romans, exclaimed to his followers—"Behold Varus and his legions! The fates have once more consigned them to our swords!" The Germans, animated by his words, charged with loud shouts, and made terrible havoc amongst the ranks of the Roman cavalry. Despair and the dread of death inspired the Romans with strength, and they maintained their ground for some days. The Germans having at last ventured to make a general assault upon the camp of their invaders, were repulsed with great slaughter, and their discomfiture was ensured by the arrival of Germanicus, when they fled in all directions.

On the withdrawal of the Roman troops from Germany, internal dissensions sprung up amongst its inhabitants; and its king, Maroboduus, sought and obtained protection from Tiberius, when the indomitable Arminius, either through ambition or patriotism, aimed at the supreme power. This engendered new quarrels between his admirers and opponents: for several years he was subject to alternate defeat and triumph. At length, at the early age of thirty-seven, he fell the victim to the treachery of his own party. Whatever were the errors of Arminius, to him the sole honour belongs of being the deliverer of ancient Germany from the yoke of Rome,—an honour which

his country long accorded; when the fame, the valour, and patriotism of Arminius were canonized in the rude and simple ballads of his nation.

A slave of Agrippa Postumus, named Clemens, who remarkably resembled his master in voice and features, suddenly pretended he was Agrippa himself, who had escaped from the emissaries of Tiberius, sent to assassinate him. His story was believed by the credulous, and many who knew of the deceit, connived at it, for the purpose of obtaining the overthrow of Tiberius. But after some time Clemens was taken prisoner and put to death by the order of the emperor.

DEATH OF GERMANICUS.

The fears of Tiberius were again directed towards Germanicus; but the popularity of that amiable prince as yet protected him from the hatred of the tyrant. His return from the German wars, which was signalized by a splendid triumph, enraged the emperor, who beheld the enthusiasm of the populace, and regarded it as disaffection towards himself. From this period, he resolved by every possible means to procure the death of such a formidable rival, and commenced by obliging him to relinquish the command of the German army, under the pretence that it was too much for his health, and that he had already done sufficient for his fame. Germanicus complied, and received the honourable post of governor-general of Asia, whither he soon proceeded, not without grave suspicions of the intentions of Tiberius. He visited on his route many memorable localities in Greece, and afterwards, passing into Asia, he reduced Cappadocia and Comagene to the form of Roman provinces. After some time he passed into Egypt, where he delayed for a considerable period, and on his return to Antioch he grew violently ill. His disorders baffled the skill of his physicians, and Germanicus died, declaring on his death-bed that he fell by poison, and was a victim to the hatred of Piso and his wife, who acted under the *secret orders* of others.

This death occasioned the most tumultuous grief at

Rome, and if we may believe the narrative of Tacitus, the behaviour of the populace in their expression of sorrow, was insane and absurd. In the midst of this calamity, Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, arrived in Rome, bearing with her the ashes of her husband, and calling for vengeance upon the authors of his death. Tiberius, in his dark hypocrisy, to divert the attention of the citizens, ordered a military escort to attend this lady, and decreed that a judicial inquiry should be instituted, to discover, if possible, the causes of the late catastrophe. Piso, the lieutenant of Germanicus, was publicly charged with the murder of that prince; but the evidence adduced against him was most vague and inconclusive.* Such, however, was the influence of Tiberius over the judges of Piso, that the latter, perceiving his life would be certainly sacrificed to the nefarious policy of the emperor, escaped the hands of the executioner by a voluntary death.

The dark forebodings of the people, at the death of Germanicus, found a terrible realization in the subsequent conduct of Tiberius. From that period, his life and reign is one continuous chronicle of the most heartless cruelty and odious crime. Neglecting the affairs of government, which interfered with his base pursuits, he relinquished the administration of the state to his favourite, M. Ælius Sejanus, a man of the most boundless and unscrupulous ambition, whose deep cunning and hypocrisy rendered him well fitted to carry out the nefarious designs of his master.

Humanity and decency decline to enumerate the atrocities of Tiberius, who, having retired to the island of Caprea, opposite the coast of Campania, there delivered himself up to the most abandoned profligacy. From this den of iniquity he sent forth his sanguinary decrees to Sejanus, and the suppliant senators of Rome approved, in the form of law, of each day's atrocity, which recorded the death or banishment of some illustrious man,

* Tacitus and Suetonius, in confirmation that Germanicus fell by slow poison, assert that several human bones, with charms, incantations, and magic verses, were found in his house before his death !!

whose virtues had rendered him obnoxious to Tiberius. In Rome, Sejanus already reigned supreme. He was invested with authority for the administration of the entire state, and the terrified citizens vied with each other in their expressions of loyalty and attachment to this new dictator. His house was besieged by crowds of suppliants, imploring him to relax the severity of his decrees.

This daring minion, aware of the many obstacles which lay in the way of his ambition, was resolved to remove them, but took his measures with the coldest caution. Drusus, the son of the emperor, was long jealous of the height of power that Sejanus had achieved, and made no secret of that feeling. Sejanus, in the profligacy of his nature, took a peculiar mode of revenge. He first corrupted the honour of Livia, the wife of Drusus, and sister of Germanicus; and as one crime is the natural consequence of another, he induced Livia to assist him in the murder of her husband, a plot which he soon accomplished.

The better to carry out his nefarious designs, Sejanus repudiated his wife, in order to marry the licentious Livia—a union which he contemplated could not fail to strengthen his claims to the empire, as he would thus be considered a member of the reigning family. This project Sejanus resolved to put into speedy execution, seeing with alarm that the emperor, on the death of his own son, the murdered Drusus, adopted the two sons of the late Germanicus. To countervail these intentions of the emperor, Sejanus forwarded a memorial to Tiberius, in which he enumerated his many services, and hoped that as Augustus had bestowed his daughter Julia upon a Roman knight, he too would not be found unworthy of such distinguished honour.

Tiberius returned a flattering but evasive answer, and Sejanus thought it prudent to postpone a suit which did not meet the approval of the suspicious Tiberius. Agrippina and her children were shortly afterwards banished by the wicked influence of this prime minister. Nor did the enmity of the latter end there. Two of her sons perished in prison, amid the lingering tortures of starvation.

Sejanus had now nearly achieved all the objects of his ambition—the extermination of those who might interfere with his claims to imperial power. But in this dazzling moment of his greatness, the suspicions of Tiberius were awakened, who from that moment resolved to watch the motions of his favourite; but, with his usual policy, while he doubted, he made him joint consul with himself, loaded him with honours, and gave his consent to the marriage of Livia. In this interval Sejanus formed the design of seizing the empire at once. His partisans were numerous and active. But before the plot was ripe for execution, one of his fellow conspirators betrayed the secret. Sejanus was arrested, tried, and executed, amid the universal joy of Rome; his body was dragged through the streets of the city, and afterwards flung with triumphant execration into the Tiber.

Tiberius lived a few years longer in licentious solitude. At length, worn out by vice and years, he became subject to frequent faintings: in one of these fits, his attendants, imagining that he was dead, advised young Caligula, the son of Germanicus, to proclaim himself emperor; in the interval Tiberius revived; fear immediately seized all those who had advised Caligula to think of empire: the moment was full of danger, when Macro, now his chief minister, approached the couch, and suffocated, with the bed-clothes, the reviving emperor. Thus perished Tiberius, A.D., 37, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, who has left a name associated with all that is base, hypocritical, and licentious.

DEATH OF CHRIST.

It was in this reign the Divine Redeemer, a few years before, closed his mortal career, after a life of humility, patience, and suffering; but, accompanied with a series of the most stupendous miracles, that “confounded the learning of the wise,” while they attested the truth and necessity of his mission.

Looking at the co-temporaneous history of the world, even in its most civilized portions, we will find its morals

exhausted funds, instead of being employed in the payment of his armies and the support of the due administration of the empire, was squandered in the construction of preposterous public works—such as a floating bridge which he cast across the sea between Puteoli and Baiæ, on the Campanian coast, a distance of three miles, for the mere purpose of winning a wager, in which he had declared, that he would walk upon the sea, as if it were dry land.

It would be painful to describe in detail the career of this revolting monster. Hundreds of Roman citizens perished at his command, for the sole purpose of his obtaining their wealth, and applying it to his profligate pursuits. The agonies of these victims afforded constant entertainment to the tyrant, who rarely missed an opportunity of seeing them fall beneath the hands of the executioner. When he discovered that his plundered subjects could contribute no more to the imperial coffers, he resolved to lead his army to foreign conquest, and recruit his diminished resources from the spoils of his enemies. A large army was prepared for a campaign in Gaul; and Caligula, having placed himself at its head, crossed the Alps, A.D., 39, and advanced to the borders of the Rhine. His object was the plunder of the Gaulish tribes; and many wealthy chiefs of that nation were put to death on various pretexts by the tyrant.

In the ensuing year, he made great preparations for an expedition into Britain, and even marched as far as the coast of Armorica (Bretagne). At this point, however, his valour cooled, and Caligula contented with sailing a little from the coast, then, having returned to the shore, he ordered his soldiers to gather shells as trophies of their conquest, declaring that he alone of all Roman generals had overcome the sea.

CASSIUS CHCEREA.

On his return from this ludicrous expedition, Caligula renewed his frantic cruelties at Rome. His vengeance was particularly directed against the senate, who had denied him an ovation, instead of a triumph, for his

Gallic exploits. Several of this body were summarily put to death; but the sanguinary career of the tyrant was speedily brought to a termination by the courage and address of Cassius Chærea, a tribune in command of the prætorian guards. This officer, who had distinguished himself in the service of Germanicus, had been frequently insulted by Caligula, and was made the subject of increasing petty persecution. Chærea was a man of determined spirit, and quickly perceived, that unless energetic measures were taken to crush the tyrant, that he would pay the penalty of his delay. He imparted his design to many of the Roman nobles, who embraced it with eagerness, and held frequent councils to deliberate upon the best manner of assassinating the tyrant.

The day chosen for the execution of their design was one upon which the Palatine games were to be celebrated. These games the emperor attended, and with which he was so pleased, that for a long time he neglected to retire to the bath. Chærea and his fellow-conspirators were waiting for their victim from an early hour; but fearing they would lose their present opportunity by the delay of Caligula, sent some members of their body to persuade the emperor not to forego his usual refreshment. While the unconscious tyrant was proceeding through a marble gallery leading to the bath, Chærea pursued him, and struck him to the earth with his dagger, exclaiming, "Tyrant, think upon this." The other conspirators immediately rushed up, and despatched Caligula with more than thirty wounds.

After a reign of nearly four years, A.D., 41, such was the death of Caius Caligula, one of the greatest of those monsters whose names disgrace even the polluted annals of the Roman empire.

The conspirators disgraced their triumph by murdering, at the same time, the unhappy wife and daughters of the tyrant.

CLAUDIUS.

The death of Caligula, so earnestly desired by the Roman people, created terrible confusion in the city. The designs of the conspirators had merely extended

to the destruction of the tyrant, with complete indifference as to his successor, and the troops, left without a master, broke out into furious mutiny, in which they plundered many houses, and murdered some of the conspirators. When peace was a little restored, the senate being loudly called upon to elect an emperor, still hesitated, hoping that the ancient spirit of liberty might have been awakened by the courage of Chœrea, and even dreamed for a time of the revival of the old republic. The soldiers, however, long accustomed to licentiousness, soon put an end to these aspirations. Claudius, the uncle of Caligula, was found by some soldiers lurking in one of the recesses of the royal palace, and, as he was the brother of Germanicus, they bore him triumphantly to the camp, where he was unanimously declared emperor of Rome, in the fiftieth year of his age. The senate, though much disposed to assume their ancient power, very prudently did not dare to oppose the wishes of the tumultuous soldiery, and passed a decree confirming Claudius in the throne of Augustus. Chœrea and several of his companions were arrested and put to death by the command of the emperor. They met their fate with great fortitude, and seem to have revived, for a while, the departed spirit of Roman liberty.

Claudius, having removed from his path the most dangerous of his enemies, proclaimed a general amnesty to all those who had sought to restore the commonwealth. With the exception of Chœrea and his companions, there were few who attempted to resist his authority; and Claudius, but for the cruelty of his ministers, might have been a kind and lenient prince. His indolent temper incapacitated him for the discharge of the business of the state, which he accordingly transferred to persons on whom he placed implicit reliance.

From some cause, which does not appear sufficiently explained, Claudius was neglected in early life by his own immediate relatives: from that neglect he sought a refuge in the pursuits of literature. Besides his histories of Etruria and Carthage, already adverted to, this prince, while but a private citizen, like another

Palamedes* added three letters to his native language, on the use of which he wrote a treatise. These occupations required, at least, much industry and mental energy; while they contrast strangely with that besotted indolence that changed his nature, in some instances, into positive stupidity.

Claudius, before he ascended the throne, had been three times married. His two first wives he repudiated; his third consort was the infamous Valeria Messalina. While this emperor was busily engaged in regulating the college of augurs, restraining the rapacity of usurers, and controlling the licentiousness of the stage, his own wife was indulging in the most unbridled profligacy. Claudius being absent from the capital, his friends recalled him to Rome, informed him of the dishonour his wife had heaped upon him, then, having led him to the camp, the soldiers hailed him with acclamation. He returned to the palace, where the indulgence of a luxurious banquet and costly wines appeared to have softened his anger against his wife: he directed that she should appear before him on the next day and enter on her defence. Narcissus, his prime minister, fearing the influence Messalina might still have over Claudius, privately left the apartment, and gave directions, in the name of the emperor, for the instant death of the guilty Messalina. The messenger of death found the unhappy woman in the gardens of Lucullus, and the assassin despatched his victim at one blow. Claudius shortly afterwards was informed of the death of his wife; but evinced no expression of either pain or pleasure at her fate. He soon after married Agrippina, his own niece, and mother of the monster Nero: this was the first instance in Roman history, that such an incestuous marriage was known, but which a fallen people—and still more degraded senate—sanctioned with their venal applause.

* Palamedes is said to have added four letters to the Greek alphabet. Those which Claudius added to the Latin must have been soon lost, as the brass table found at Lyons, containing a speech of his to the senate, had none of those new letters.—See Brotier's Tacitus. The claim of Palamedes to the invention of those letters is extremely doubtful.

Agrippina, aided by the intrigues of Pallas, her paramour, induced Claudius to adopt her son, Domitius Nero, into the Claudian family, and supersede his own son, Britannicus.

The Britons, since the days of Julius Cæsar, had enjoyed one hundred years of uninterrupted freedom, until Bericus, a Briton, who had been driven out of his own country, waited on Claudius, and induced him to invade the island; to complete the conquest of which, a Roman army with some of the ablest generals were sent from time to time by Claudius, and who may be said to have been uniformly successful. P. Ostorius was now governor of Britain. The people in several parts made a noble resistance under Caractacus. The naked tumultuary forces of the islanders were no match for the disciplined legions of the empire; after a sharp contest the former fled in confusion, and were pursued with slaughter. Caractacus sought shelter from the queen of the Brigantes (the people of Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland); but that princess basely betrayed her countryman, and delivered him up in chains to his enemies. The British chief, together with his wife, daughter, and brother were sent to Rome, where they were publicly exhibited to the gaze of the multitude. Claudius had the merit to pardon the hero, with his followers, who, for nine years, had bravely opposed the domination of a foreigner.

Amid a series of profligacy and crime, Agrippina controlled the affairs of the empire, and Claudius submitted without objection to whatever measures she proposed, until on one occasion, he having carelessly remarked, that it was his lot constantly to hear of the vices of his wives and to punish them. Agrippina took the alarm. Shortly afterwards Claudius became ill; in that illness she had poison introduced into some mushrooms, a dish of which the emperor was particularly fond; but fearing this was not sufficiently potent, she suborned the physician of the palace, who completed her wicked purpose, A.D., 54, by introducing into the throat of the dying emperor, a stronger and more deadly poison than that which he had already received.

For three days Agrippina kept the death of Claudius a secret, even from the domestics of the palace; nor were any persons permitted to leave it on any account whatsoever. None but herself and her guilty accomplice approached the chamber of the emperor, under the pretence that he was unable to bear the noise or visits of others. She appeared overloaded with affliction, frequently embracing young Britannicus, the son of Claudius, the late emperor, calling him the image of her august husband, while she and her party were actively engaged in taking measures to secure the accession of her own son to the throne. At length, when all her plans were matured, on the third day the gates of the palace were thrown open, where a prætorian cohort was stationed, and Nero, accompanied by his friend Burrhus, appeared; instantly he was received with a shout of acclamation, and carried to the camp; there the decent forms of respect to the memory of the deceased were observed; and Nero, now seventeen years of age, after promising a considerable donation to the army, was declared emperor of Rome. The declaration was ratified by the senate, and the subjugated provinces bowed to the decree. After some time the obsequies of Claudius were performed with superb pomp: while he was deified and ranked among the gods, his assassin wife was appointed his priestess upon earth.

For a few years, Nero gave promise of a mild and constitutional reign:—the choice of his tutors, Burrhus and the celebrated Seneca, strengthened these anticipations. But he soon threw off his disguise, and only consulted the ferocity of his nature. He attached himself to a female slave and repudiated his blameless wife Octavia. His profligate and ambitious mother became alarmed, fearing that her own influence would now cease, by that of the new favourite; but finding herself unable to break or control this attachment, she moderated or subdued her feelings. Still Nero received his mother with a cold indifference which she could not endure, and there was no limit to her rage. Even in the hearing of Nero, she rejoiced that Britannicus was still

alive: that he was a genuine Germanicus; that she would proceed to the camp with that youth, there acknowledge the infamous arts by which she herself had cheated him of his birthright, and that the legions would assert his claims to the empire.

Nero was struck with fear: he knew the violence of his mother, and feared her the more. In a few days after, while Britannicus was sitting at table, in the same apartment with Nero, he was poisoned by the private orders of the latter, and the same night, the body of the murdered prince, in his fifteenth year, was hurried out for interment without the commonest forms of sepulture.

A cautious civility was all that now existed between Nero and his mother, under which he disguised his atrocious intentions. At the instance of the profligate Poppæa Sabina, (whom he afterwards married and killed,) he plotted the murder of his mother. This was by attempting to have her assassinated at Baie, in a barge prepared for the purpose. The plot failed, but the murder was consummated shortly afterwards by a band of ruffians sent by the orders of the monster son. These wretches burst into the apartment where Agrippina lay; she received the assassins with firmness and perished under their poignards. In a letter to the senate, Nero justified the act;—declared that Agrippina fell, because she attempted the life of the emperor; and blackened her memory by charges of the most reprehensible character. The public mind was disgusted at such a course; but the servile senate applauded his conduct, and knew no limit to their adulation.

It would be disgusting to detail the madness and atrocities of Nero. He now became ambitious to excel as a charioteer, a musician, and a public stage player. In these freaks he murdered many, either for their wealth or their virtue. Among other atrocities, he caused Rome itself to be set on fire, and that in so many places at the same time, that it became almost impossible to fly from the ravages of the flames.—For six days the conflagration raged with irresistible fury, carrying destruction wherever it appeared, which he

beheld with rapture from a tower on the top of the house of Mæcenas : from thence went to the theatre, and, in a scenic dress, there sung to his harp "the conflagration of Troy."

NERO PERSECUTES THE CHRISTIANS.

This wholesale destruction of life and property sunk deep into the public mind. Nero, to turn the odium of this atrocious act from himself, caused it to be believed that the Christians were those who had fired the city. Immediately all of that blameless class, upon whom he could lay his hands, were arrested and put to death with cruel torture. That he might more conveniently enjoy the agonies of his victims, he lent his own gardens for the exhibition of their sorrows and their virtues ;—some of them he crucified ; some were dressed in the skins of wild beasts, and left to be torn to pieces by dogs : others he caused to be burned alive, while with laughter and derision he drove his chariot round the gardens, exulting in the tortures of the unhappy people.

This career of brutality at length awakened the disgust of many of the most respectable citizens of Rome, who, to free themselves from living under the despotism of such a wretch, entered into a conspiracy against him. For this purpose they held various consults, as to the means of accomplishing an object so generally desired : their numbers soon became considerable, and embraced many of the most influential men in the capital—senators, knights, generals, and even women. The chief leader of this conspiracy was Caius Piso, an illustrious Roman of ancient lineage, large possessions, courteous and accomplished. When this extensive conspiracy was just ripe for execution, the plot was discovered, by the zeal of Epicharis, an enfranchised female slave, who was most anxious for its consummation ;—unhappily she related the project to one in whom she expected to find a powerful proselyte. This person immediately related the matter to Nero ; but, as Epicharis had the prudence not to mention the names of her companions, both Nero and the informer were

alike ignorant of the leaders and their views. Epicharis was immediately put to the torture ; but no agony, however severe, could induce her to betray by word or look, any of her companions in this enterprise : her tortures only ended with the day. She was again taken out on the following day for the same brutal purpose. Unable to walk, by exhaustion and pain, she was placed in a litter, that she might the sooner be brought to the place of torture. While on her way thither, she, unobserved, took the girdle from her waist, and having fastened one end of it to the top of the litter, made a noose at the other, and placing it round her neck, cast herself from the carriage, a horrid spectacle to the beholders, and so expired.

The suppression of this formidable insurrection gave Nero inexpressible delight. He considered himself now above all his enemies, and with this feeling went on in his career of crime, folly, and madness. At length all classes became disgusted. Galba, in Spain, who was denounced by the senate, but supported by the legions in his claims to the purple, was preparing to march his forces against Nero. The legions also lately returned from Illyricum, openly invited their general, Virginius Rufus, to accept the same honour. With these facts before him, Nero awoke at last to a sense of his danger ; to prevent which, in the ferocity of his nature, he proposed the horrible design of murdering the senate, again setting fire to the city, letting loose all his wild beasts upon the people, and, in the general confusion, to fly into Egypt. The eunuch to whom he proposed this ferocious project betrayed the secret. The senate were alarmed. On every side public indignation was aroused. Abandoned by all the former minions of his pleasures and his crimes, disguised in the most wretched habitments, Nero fled to an obscure cottage, where, after a scene of the most odious cowardice, he stabbed himself in the throat, and expired, A.D. 68, in the thirty-seventh year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign—the last of the Cæsarean line.

CHAPTER XL.

Galba.—Otho.—Vitellius.—Vespasian.

A.D., 69. Servius Galba, at the advanced age of seventy-two, ascended the throne of the Cæsars. He had served in several high and important commands, and had enjoyed the consulate a second time. Still this officer appears to have had too much virtue for his new position, and too much honesty for the corruption of his time. Among the first acts of his reign was the just punishment of Nymphidius Sabinus, Fonteius Capito, and Clodius Macer. These men shared the guilty fellowship of Nero, and were desirous to disturb the peace, and even the security, of his successor. He also had several other sanguinary instruments of Nero's bloody reign publicly executed—a measure which gave considerable satisfaction to the Roman people.

Galba, although he owed his present elevation to the voice of his legions, was anxious to suppress much of their licentiousness; but in these reforms he soon experienced the penalties of royalty. The civilians of the senate and the city looked with contempt upon an emperor whose frugal habits they treated with derision, and whose efforts to restore public order and discipline, in some instances, wore the aspect more of severity than justice. His soldiers became dissatisfied, not having received any donative from their new emperor; besides, the example which the army of Spain had set in placing *their* general in the chair of sovereignty, was quickly imitated by the legions in the German provinces. M. Salvius Otho, now governor of Pannonia, had attached himself to Galba, and affected to be his friend; but Otho, not having been nominated by him as his successor, fomented these fatal dissensions, and after the brief reign of six months, Galba was assassinated in the forum by a body of the Prætorian guards, who at the same moment hailed Otho as emperor.

OTHO.

Although Otho obtained the purple by the basest means, like Galba, he punished the associates of the infamous Nero, while he treated with moderation, and even with friendship, several of the followers of the late emperor. But while he was endeavouring to atone for his former vices by a life of utility, perhaps of virtue, Aulus Vitellius, then in command of the legions of Germany, corrupted his army by donatives and larger promises; his licentious soldiery declared they had as much right to elect an emperor as their fellow soldiers in Spain, or the prætorian guards of Rome. Acting under this feeling, they immediately hailed Vitellius the ninth emperor of Rome.

At this intelligence Otho contemplated some agreement with his rival; but finding such a measure impracticable, he left Rome with a large army to oppose the progress of Vitellius, and proceeded to Brixellum, on the Po, where he himself remained while his forces marched onwards under the command of his generals, Suetonius and Celsus. The adverse armies soon came up with each other. No less than three important battles were fought, in each of which the army of Otho had the advantage. But in a fourth engagement his forces were completely beaten, and pursued with great slaughter. Otho, after a reign of three months, terminated his existence by his own hand.

VITELLIUS.

A.D., 69. Aulus Vitellius had spent the greater part of his youth at Caprææ, with Tiberius, in the infamous pleasures of that wretch. Caligula he charmed with his coachmanship;—Claudius and Nero in turn selected him for their companion in crime and profligacy:—by such recommendations he enjoyed the society of these miscreants. He was in Gaul when he learned the fate of Otho, and immediately set out for the capital. His progress thither was marked with the most wanton extravagance and profusion. On arriving at the field of action, where the army of Otho was defeated, he

found it thickly strewn with the dead bodies of the partisans of the late emperor. The scene was sad and melancholy to all but Vitellius, who expressed the liveliest emotions of pleasure on beholding it; declaring that even the stench of a dead enemy was a grateful odour. On his arrival in Rome, his soldiers resigned themselves to unbridled licentiousness; but all of whom were excelled in every vice by their emperor, whose master-passion was that of the most beastly gluttony. Sensuality was not his only vice; he delighted in the destruction of his former companions, and that with the basest treachery. To lend him money and ask for its repayment, was certain death to the lender: two sons of one of his victims having presumed, by the impulse of nature, to elicit the pardon of their father, were sent to immediate execution along with their wretched parent. These, and such atrocities, at last aroused the unavowed ambition of Vespasian, an able general, who had seen much service, and now engaged in suppressing a rebellion amongst the Jews.

The legions of Germany and the East became ashamed of such a despicable emperor. In this crisis Mucianus, the governor of Syria, implored Vespasian to assume the purple; while the governor of Egypt publicly proclaimed him as such, even without his sanction. Vespasian was reluctant to declare his own private aspirations; but it was the reluctance of a statesman calculating his chances and resources, which having duly weighed, he cast off all disguise and aspired to empire. While he himself remained in Egypt, in order the better to send troops to his friends in the capital, his general, Antonius Primus, with the legions of Germany, came up with the praetorian guards of Vitellius, at Cremona, when the latter were routed with great slaughter, and the town laid in ruins. Antonius Primus then marched to Rome, which was soon a scene of dreadful carnage between the contending parties, during which the capitol was burned to ashes. Ultimately the friends of Vespasian prevailed. The wretched Vitellius, abandoned by all, after an exhibition of cowardice, weakness and pusillanimity, was

dragged from the miserable hiding place to which he had fled, and savagely murdered (20th December, A.D., 69); his body was dragged through the streets of Rome, and flung into the Tiber, after a reign of nearly eight months.

VESPASIAN.

A.D., 70. Vespasian was now proclaimed emperor: his general, Mucianus, acting as his representative in Rome, while he remained in Alexandria during the winter. He had been engaged, as already mentioned, in suppressing the insurrection in Judea; this war he now transferred to his son Titus, while he himself assumed the reigns of government.

For some years before the period of which we now write, Judea had been the theatre of the most flagitious oppression, inflicted on it by its Roman governors. This naturally produced great dissatisfaction among the Jewish people; while all their country was terribly convulsed by robberies, murder, and anarchy of every kind. Various mysterious phenomena were seen by these people, that perplexed them much "with fear of change."—Among these was the supernatural warning which the priests heard in the temple (21st May, A.D., 65): a voice exclaimed at midnight, when no one else was present but themselves,—“Let us depart hence! Let us depart hence! Let us depart hence!” Plainly announcing to the very ministers of the Jewish religion, that the Spirit of God, which had long watched over this people, had now abandoned them and their temple for ever. Such was the appalling state of Judea, that upwards of 126,000 of its people had been cut off at different places by the Roman governors, in suppressing this revolt. At length, instead of tumultuary resistance, the Jews formed themselves into a regular army, and formally cast off the yoke of Rome.

After various conflicts, they were routed with dreadful carnage, and fell back upon Jerusalem, resolving to defend their beloved temple, of which they vainly imagined they could not be deprived, as God would inter-

pose some mighty miracle in its behalf. Two factions leaders, Simon, and John of Gischala, assumed the supreme command; these men were now in constant hostility to each other—one in possession of the temple, the other of the city; and by their infatuated fury greatly contributed to the success of their common enemy. Titus commenced his operations against this city and temple, (April, A.D., 70,) when, after a siege of a few months, and the most unparalleled sufferings, Jerusalem fell by the ruthless hand of war. Between disease, famine, and butchery of the contending factions within its walls, no less than 115,880 bodies were carried out of the city for burial in the space of two months;—an almost incredible multitude are said to have perished by famine alone. To add to their calamity, this city was never more amply supplied with the precious metals, but which were utterly useless, as all their provisions had been exhausted. Many were to be seen raking the common sewers in their endeavours to appease the agonies of hunger, by feeding upon all that was utterly disgusting. In the third month of the siege (17 July), such was the destruction of human life, and the horrors that reigned within the devoted city, that neither priest nor Levite were found to perform the “holy offices” in the temple, when the prophecy of Daniel (ix. 27,) was perfectly realized:—“the victim and the sacrifice shall fail.”

At last the mighty walls of Jerusalem fell by the indomitable power of Roman perseverance. The temple, remarkable for its magnificence and beauty, was set on fire by the hand of a rude soldier. The scene was truly appalling. Everywhere human blood was flowing through the streets; houses were filled with piles of dead and dying, while an enraged and savage soldiery were still butchering all who came before them. The siege of Jerusalem was the most afflicting known in the annals of the world. In the war alone 1,337,490 Jews perished. Titus razed the city and temple to their foundations; and, to mark his greater triumph, set up all Judea to public sale. Thus was the ever memorable prediction critically fulfilled, that Jerusalem would be beaten flat

to the ground, and the children who were in it; that it would fall by the edge of the sword, and be trodden down by the Gentiles.

Such was the fall of Jerusalem, and with it ceased, to a great extent, the triumphs—the trophies of the Pagan world. Of the doomed metropolis of Judea “the edict had gone forth.” It was pronounced by the lips of eternal truth, and should be consummated. The Jewish nation had been broken and scattered. Their noble temple was the type of their faith, and, like its people, should be scattered also.

Vespasian suppressed another insurrection which burst out among the people of Batavia, directed by Claudius Civilis, when the latter was compelled to sue for peace. He reappointed P. Cerealis to the government of Britain, who was accompanied, as legate, by Cn. Julius Agricola, the son-in-law of Tacitus, the illustrious Roman historian. Agricola subdued the island as far as the northern part of Caledonia. It is generally believed that it was during his administration Britain was first discovered to be an island.

A.D., 79. After a reign of ten years, Vespasian died in his seventieth year. From the humble occupation of a farrier, he passed through all the subordinate positions of a soldier, until he ultimately became emperor of Rome. He was stern, and, with some exceptions, just; prudent and economical of the public treasury; although illiterate himself, he was a generous patron of literature, and his character, generally speaking, may be said to have been that of a useful chief magistrate. Under his auspices the Capitoline temple, destroyed in the late reign, rose from its ruins with renewed magnificence. To him Rome was indebted for the gigantic Flavian amphitheatre, or coliseum, completed and adorned by the profusion of subsequent emperors. This vast pile occupied six acres of ground; it was five hundred and sixty-four feet long, and four hundred and sixty-seven feet wide; its walls were one hundred and fifty-seven feet high; eighty massy arches supported more than sixty rows of marble seats, covered with luxurious cushions, together with a gallery that

ran round the building, accommodated eighty thousand spectators, who looked down upon the elliptic area, which, with the most perfect scenic delusion, we are told, could be converted into a forest for the hunting of wild beasts; or when, with admirable skill, innumerable reservoirs of water poured their redundancy into the plain, and soon became a lake covered with armed gallees that fought a mimic sea fight. On other occasions the arena became a sanded plain for the exhibition of gladiatorial shows, and where hundreds of the early martyrs perished under the fangs of wild beasts, for the amusement of a gross, cruel, and ferocious people.*

The reign of Vespasian was otherwise remarkable—During his dynasty, the Jewish people, after an existence of more than two thousand years, ceased to be a nation. With the reign of Vespasian may be said to terminate the supremacy of Rome in Italy. By the admission of distinguished provincials into the senate, society was gradually prepared for those days of the later empire, when Ravenna and Byzantium contended with Rome for the honour of the imperial residence; but in no instance, save the abuse of its constitution, and the almost total prostration of all public spirit, did Rome exhibit the symptoms of that decay which had long preyed upon its vitals; and although its senate could no longer be termed, as in the days of Pyrrhus, “an assembly of kings,” it was now, and long after, a city of palaces and temples—of luxury and magnificence.

We have now followed, through the long course of eight hundred years, the annals of one of the greatest nations, that has left its traces on the sand of time. In this review we have seen, even in the palmiest days

* But, from a modern survey, it seems that the area, or circus, where the seats of the spectators terminated below, was only 289 feet by 170 feet, a space not very well calculated for the hunting of thousands of wild beasts, the exhibition of forests, or naval combats.

of the old republic, vice and profligacy prevail to a frightful extent, while liberty was but another name for faction. Perhaps no state aspiring to civilization laboured under so defective a code of laws, during the period of our inquiry, than that of ancient Rome: there, nothing was complete, no part of its constitution harmonized with, or *wisely* controlled the other. The patrician and tribunitian power were in perpetual antagonism, while an idle and licentious populace lived upon the plunder of subjugated states, or the unblushing bribery by which their leaders made their way to power. The Roman constitution contained within itself no regenerating principle, by which the experience of the past, or the errors of the present could be made available to the common good. If we look to the provinces, we find matters in no better state. Those dependencies were handed over to pro-consuls and prætors, who, for the most part plundered them without limit, and who, to protect themselves from the consequences of such iniquity, bribed the very judges by whom the investigation of their acts was to be decided. Hence a Verres and a Clodius; the exterminating wars of Marius and Sulla, Cæsar and Pompey; the murder of Cicero; the fatal field of Philippi; the atrocities of Antony; until Augustus, seizing all power within his grasp, established the baneful precedent of a chief magistrate, vested with absolute and irresponsible power; and which made way and scope for such infamous miscreants as a Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius. From all this it is clear, that the civilized nations of the present day, whether of the great republic of the West, or any of the old monarchical dynasties of Europe, have reason to thank Providence that their fate was not cast in ancient Rome; as the most defective of them confer more practical liberty—more social happiness,—more civil and substantial freedom, than was ever known to that haughty dictatress of nations, Rome—the once imperial mistress of the world.

NOTES.

NOTE A.—p. 19.

Although the cause of classical learning is deeply indebted to Niebuhr, it must not be forgotten that this distinguished scholar cannot claim the merit of *complete* originality. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were many pioneers in the track of philosophical history, of whom it will be merely necessary to mention the names of Muratori, Sigonius, Glareanus, and Perizonius. The "*Animadversiones Historicae*" of the latter is a masterly work. Its object is chiefly to examine and refute the inconsistencies of the ancient historians; but such were the prejudices of the times in which it was produced, that it fell and remained for a considerable period almost in oblivion. Bayle, too, in his "*Historical Dictionary*," turned the arms of his universal scepticism against the early annals of Rome, and was followed, but in a more learned and less objectional manner, by John Baptist Vico, in his "*Scienza Nuova*," which may be considered the first complete work on the philosophy of history. His views have been largely adopted, (often indeed without acknowledgement,) by Niebuhr; but the work is composed in such an enigmatical style that it finds but few admirers. The same studied obscurity has also clouded the reputation of his predecessors; and Niebuhr unquestionably deserves the merit of having first arranged these researches in a tangible form, and investigated with profuse learning those questions hitherto imperfectly or faintly developed. The comparatively recent discovery by the great Cardinal Mai, in the Vatican library,—of Lydus (*De Agrimensuribus*),—the Institutes of Gaius, and the *De Republica* of Cicero, were of signal assistance to the German historian, who promptly availed himself of this additional light thus thrown upon the constitutional history of Rome. Hence, if Niebuhr was not the first in the career of philosophic investigation, to him is due, independent of his vast learning, the great merit of condensing into a readable form, the fugitive, and nearly forgotten labours of many of his precursors.

NOTE B.—p. 156.

The original epigram in the Greek language, and supposed to have been written by Leonidas of Tarentum, has been unfortunately lost. The literal sense is, however, preserved in an extremely old Latin translation, quoted in Orosius, an annalist of the Byzantine period. Inscriptions of this kind were usually made in *distichs*, or couplets of hexameter and pentameter verse, thus:—

'— — — — — " — — — — —
 — — — — — " — — — — —

For this reason, I have endeavoured to give a faint idea of the old versification, by adopting a metre which is still very unsuited to the genius of the English language. Some poetry has been written by professor Longfellow and others in hexameter verse; but these productions deserve attention rather from their novelty and ingenuity than any other qualifications. The old Latin translator quoted by Orosius, lived at a period in which Italy had made but little progress in poetry. His attempts to represent the *hexameter* and *pentameter* are very curious:—

Qui antea hac invicti fovere viri pater optime Olympi
 Hos ego in pacis vicis
 Et victus sum ab isdem.

The first line is full of errors against the laws of hexameter verse; the last two form one *Saturnian* verse, which was the old heroic metre of Rome. A few exceedingly curious fragments of *Saturnian* verse have reached us, and afford matter for endless speculation to the learned. Iambic poetry was cultivated at an early period by the poets Livius, Andronicus, Nævius, and Pacuvius. Ennius, who flourished during the second Punic war, was the first Roman poet who wrote in hexameters. The great work of Lucretius Carus, (B.C., 60,) on "The Universe," is the earliest perfect specimen of this metre now extant. It was carried to perfection in the days of Augustus Cæsar. For further information upon these interesting subjects, see Dunlop Hist. of Roman Liter., vol. 1. Orelli. Inscrip. Latine; Donaldson, Varronianus.

NOTE C.—p. 177.

The principal festivals of Ancient Greece, in which games were celebrated, were three in number:—

1st. Olympia, celebrated at the town of Olympia in Elis,

once in every four years. These games were in honour of Zeus, the Jupiter of the Greeks. They consisted of various athletic amusements: foot and chariot races; throwing the discus or quoit; wrestling; boxing; besides literary contests, in which prizes were given for the best historical, dramatic, and lyric compositions. The concourse of people that attended this famous festival was immense, and the enthusiasm which greeted the victors was unbounded. Although the sole reward was a crown of the wild olive, it was esteemed an incomparable good fortune to gain a prize at the Olympia, and the name of every victor was transmitted for ages to his posterity;—his native city overloaded him with honours; the temples were filled with crowds of citizens offering their thanksgivings to the gods for so great a triumph; and even in some cases, the city walls were broken down to receive the triumphal procession of the conqueror. The Olympic games were celebrated during the Attic month, Hecatombeon, which nearly corresponds to our July; the date of its institution is unknown.

After the invasion of Greece by the Heracleids or descendants of Hercules, who established themselves in the Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, the Olympic games were restored by Iphitus, king of Elis, B.C. 884. This monarch, in conjunction with Lycurgus, the law-giver of Sparta, instituted many rules for the future management of these games, and had his name inscribed upon a quoit, which curious record was seen by the Greek traveller Pausanias, in the second century of the Christian era. The disturbed state of Greece caused these games to be celebrated very irregularly for a considerable period. In the year, B.C., 776, Coroebus of Elis having been crowned victor at the Olympic games, this festival was first used as a chronological epoch, and the Olympia were celebrated regularly at the conclusion of every fourth year, until their suppression by the emperor Theodosius, A.D., 394, Olymp., 293.

The games lasted for about seven days, and the prizes were decided by judges, termed Hellanodica, who were bound to impartiality under the most solemn obligations. Candidates for the athletic sports called the Pentathlon, or "five games," of leaping, running, throwing the quoit, use of the spear, and wrestling, were subject to a ten months' course of training in the gymnastic schools of Elis. Married women were strictly forbidden to be present at the games, which were usually commenced by a midnight sacrifice upon the gigantic altar of the Elean Zeus, from whence the multitude proceeded at the voice of the heralds to witness the commencement of the spectacle. The Olympic games were amongst the last institutions of Greece which survived its downfall. The Christian fathers of the earlier ages make frequent allusions to them in their works, and the emperor Julian, in his rage for the revival of heathenism, caused them to be celebrated

with unusual splendour. They became, however, very degenerate for a considerable period before their final suppression, and the names of the victors during the last forty Olympiads have not been recorded.

2nd. Pythia. These games were celebrated in the Crissæan plain, near Delphi, in honour of Phœbus Apollo, the Greek sun-god, whose victory over the serpent Pytho, the Genius of destruction, was one of the most popular of Grecian legends. They were held during the third year of every Olympiad, about the time of the vernal equinox. In their earliest form, they seem to have been merely contests upon the lyre. Subsequently trials of skill in athletic sports and physical strength were introduced; but the predominant features of the Pythian games always continued to be music and poetry. The judges were the Amphictyons or magistrates of the Greek confederacy, and the principal prize was simply a chaplet of laurel.

3rd. The Nemean games, celebrated every third year, in the Nemean grove in Argolis. Various accounts have been given of their origin,—some attributing them to the expedition of the seven chiefs against the city of Thebes, who in their march, accidentally caused the death of Archemorus, or Opheltes, a child of the priest of Jupiter. They were afterwards, as the legends tell us, consecrated to Jupiter by Hercules, when victorious over the Nemean lion. These games were principally gymnastic; the judges, who awarded the prizes, usually wore black robes; but as to the nature of these prizes much obscurity prevails,—the principal reward being, according to some, a branch of olive; according to others, a crown of fresh parsley, and in some statements, a garland of ivy, or a wreath made from the branches of the pine tree. Some of the finest poetry of Pindar has been devoted to the victors in the Nemean and Isthmian games, but his description of the Olympic are perhaps superior.

In addition to those four principal festivals of Greece, called Panhellenic, from their being open to strangers from all parts of Greece; there were many others, such as the Panathenæa and Eleusinia, in Attica, devoted respectively to the service of Athene or Minerva, the tutelary deity of Athens, and to Demeter or Ceres, the goddess of the fruits of the earth, whose worship, together with that of Bacchus, had assumed a peculiar and mystic character.

NOTE D.—p. 327.

It is generally believed, that Marcus Brutus *loved* Cæsar, and, therefore, the latter was much attached to him. This appears to be a popular error. It was Decimus Brutus, not Marcus, that ranked so high in the affection of the dictator. The esteem of the latter for Marcus must be solely attributed to his friendship for Servilia, the mother of Marcus. It was

one of the distinguishing features of the policy of Cæsar, to conciliate, as much as possible, all the leading men of Rome to sanction his measures. For this purpose, he made several efforts to draw Marcus Brutus over to his party; yet, after all, he appears to have been as much afraid of him as he was of Caius Cassius himself, especially after the violent speech that Marcus delivered before Cæsar, in favour of king Deiotarus. While to Decimus Brutus the dictator resigned himself with the most unreserved confidence, having loaded him with honours, and made him his heir next after his nephew, Octavius. Again, there is internal evidence in these transactions to show that Marcus Brutus never could have been the bosom friend of Cæsar, consequently, there could have been no sacrifice of personal friendship in the matter. First, Marcus Brutus was, in politics, diametrically opposed to Cæsar, from which the latter was never able to turn him aside. Second, from the well known disgraceful intimacy that existed for years between Cæsar and Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, it is impossible that Marcus could have any other feeling than the deepest indignation towards a man who had so grievously dishonoured his family. And although M. Brutus does not appear to have been *too* sensitive of his mother's shame, (Ad Att. 15, x,) yet, under any circumstance, he could not have *loved* Cæsar only less than he loved Rome.

From all this, I am inclined to think, that it must have been to Decimus Brutus, *not* Marcus, that Cæsar made the well-known exclamation, *Et tu quoque Brute!* on beholding the man whom he had made his heir, his friend, and familiar among the conspirators, raising his dagger against his life. This construction is further favoured by the fact, that it was Decimus Brutus, he being so much in the confidence of Cæsar, that was sent by the conspirators, to induce him to the senate-house on the morning of his murder.

Plutarch says, that when Cæsar saw himself assailed by Brutus, he abandoned all hopes of safety; but there were two Brutus' present, and he does not distinguish between them;—however, rigid investigation was not among the merits of Plutarch.

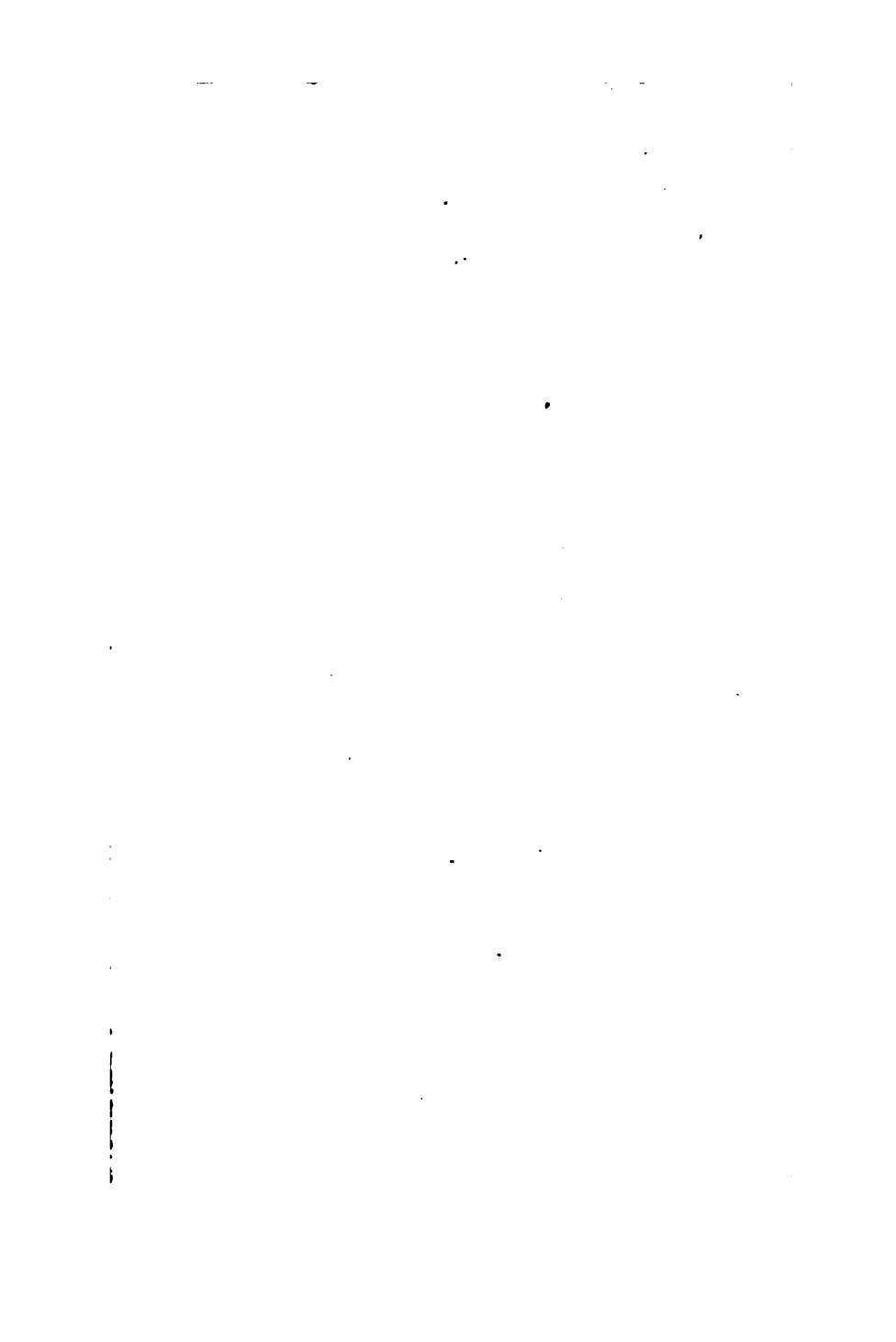
NOTE E.—p. 327.

Was Cicero present at the death of Cæsar? Middleton asserts with reasonable confidence, that Cicero was present at the assassination of Cæsar, and quotes the letter of the orator himself (Ad Att. 14, 14.) where he says, "I had the pleasure of seeing the tyrant fall as he deserved." This would appear quite conclusive on the point, had we not also the letter of Cicero to C. Cassius. (Epistolæ ad Familiares, Liber. xii, Epist. iv.) *Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad coenam invitasset:—reliquiarum nihil fuisset.* I wish you had invited me to your

supper on the Ides of March: where I promise you I would have left no fragments—"No botches in the work." Clearly meaning that, had he been there, he would at the same time have cut off Antony together with Caesar—the sparing of the former being the great error of the conspirators that Cicero always deplored, and which never would have taken place had it not been for M. Brutus, that over-ruled the wishes of the rest of his colleagues, who were for despatching Antony, as one whom they could neither trust nor respect.

Of course, the discrepancy between these two letters cannot now be explained: hence we cannot pronounce, with certainty, whether Cicero was or was not present at the death of Caesar; while it is very singular, that the letter to Cassius could have escaped such a writer as Conyers Middleton.





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